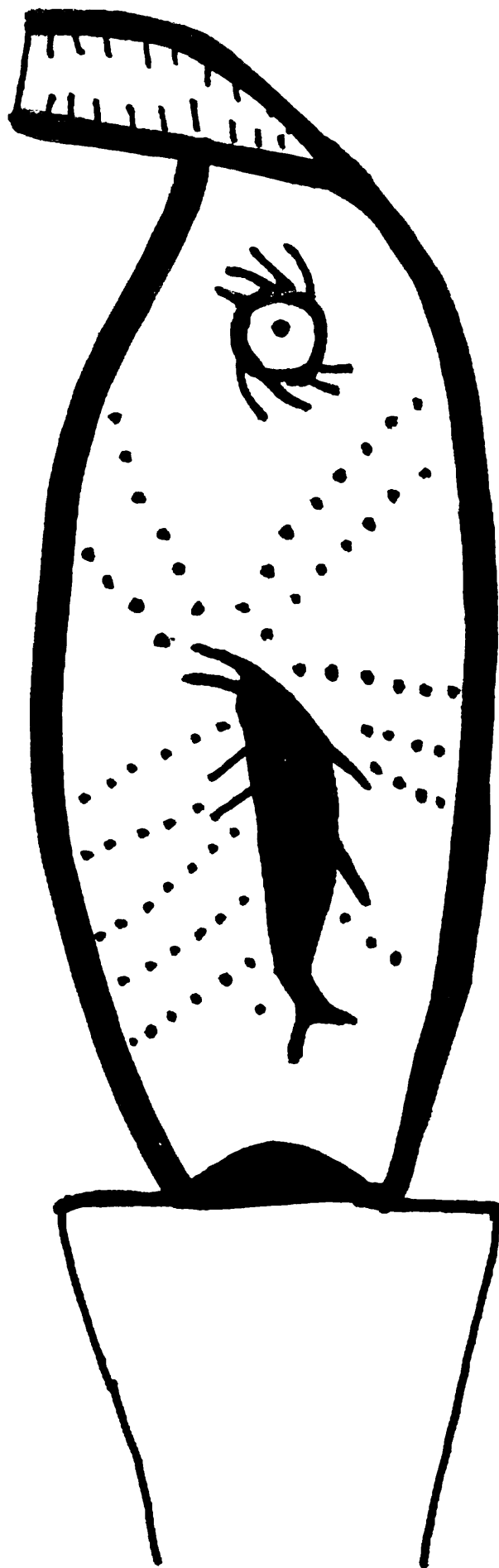


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23RD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SALISH
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11-13 AUGUST 1988
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON - EUGENE

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Prosody in Chinook Jargon

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0. This paper re-examines some of the Chinook Jargon data obtained by Melville Jacobs over 50 years ago, in the light of data obtained by myself in 1982-83 with support from the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund.* I will focus on a specific complex of phonetic and grammatical features given in Jacobs' record from one speaker. The features involve Jacobs' transcription of the multi-word forms (hereafter, combined forms) he has subclassified (in Jacobs 1932:33-38) as "compounds"--firmly-knit combined forms functioning as grammatical and/or lexemic units--and "clusters"--looser concatenations of forms in syntactically-determined sequences. The speaker was Mrs. Victoria Howard (herein, VH), also the source of his texts in Clackamas Chinookan.

Where Jacobs' Jargon data were all transcribed directly during live dictation, mine were originally tape-recorded, and for the most part exhibit ordinary conversational styles and rates of delivery. The full spaces demarcating combined forms in Jacobs' fieldnote-book transcripts are not consistently equatable with any acoustic features distinguishable in my sound-recorded data. However, the internal constituencies of these

units, as well as certain phonetic features associated with them, are paralleled there by patterned suprasegmental phenomena linking comparable grammatical categories of form. These parallels are most conveniently considered here with reference to data recorded by me from one particular additional speaker.

1. The Speakers.

This additional speaker, the late Mr. Wilson Bobb (hereafter, WB), was a younger relative of VH. The two formerly were members of the same extended family, and lived in close association with one another for some years in the small northwestern Oregon reservation community of Grand Ronde.

The Jargon language of Grand Ronde speakers must be considered a "creole language," if by that we mean a linguistic medium of manifestly hybrid origins and historical currency as a pidgin, which nonetheless came to assume a full range of communicative functions in household, extended family and larger community (Zenk 1988). WB insists upon the "first language" biographical priority of Jargon for himself: "I talked Jargon I guess ever since I was born." "I never learned Jargon, I just grew up that way. That was my first language." For VH we have the following note in Jacobs (1929-30, notebook 53), given some added substance in a few other notations

scattered through the field notebooks:

Mrs. H[oward]'s twalati [Tualatin Kalapuyan] father died when she was a very little girl, hence her grandparents [mother's parents], one Molale [sic], one Clackamas, were the people who raised [her]; Mrs. H's mother talked mostly jargon to her, but knew Mol. and Clack. just like Mrs. H.

VH's language biography, while a complex one, does not seem unusually so in terms of what we know about life in the Grand Ronde community of her earlier years. Upwards of 15 small tribal and ethnic groups speaking upwards of 9 different languages were undergoing a rapid process of social integration there during that time. This was perhaps most obvious in the ever ramifying and tightening web of extended kinship that was cutting across all linguistic and "tribal" lines of division. In terms of traditional patrilineal reckoning, VH presumably would have been considered a Tualatin. However, while she had had some familiarity with the Tualatin language, she had never spoken it. She however did speak both Molala and Clackamas (Upper Chinookan) as a young girl--the tribal languages of the grandparents who raised her. She also used Clackamas a great deal with the mother of her first husband, who was Clackamas. It was during the 15 or so years of that first marriage that she was in closest contact with WB, who was the step-son of one of her husband's brothers. Extended-family ties were strong

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in this as well as other Grand Ronde families of the period, and it is most interesting that WB remembers VH as a speaker only of Jargon and English, his own repertoire of languages (local non-standard English, note, was also in wide currency in the community of that time). He moreover strongly resisted any imputation of "Clackamas" affiliation to her (beyond that implied by marriage, that is). A Clackamas would never marry another Clackamas, he declared, expressing the sensitivity of Natives older than himself to the slightest taint of incest: blood relationship was usually assumed for fellow members of each small Grand Ronde tribe.

The foregoing circumstances of the speakers' experience and use of the language have important implications for evaluating their linguistic data. These however must await full treatment elsewhere. Briefly, such implications concern (a) creolization, or complications and expansions of linguistic makeup in response to expanded use and function (Hymes 1971:65); and (b) variability, or the correlations between linguistic makeup and factors such as speakers' other languages, their varying generation levels, the relationships and situations affecting their language use, and so forth.

2. Combined forms in VH's texts.

The following description necessarily refers

frequently to syntactic units and relations whose adequate exemplification would require a much lengthier and more specialized treatment. Stereotyped and idiomatic forms and meanings are also frequently encountered in VH's texts--as would become much clearer in a comprehensive consideration of data from all Grand Ronde speakers recorded. Hopefully, I will be able to make up for some of these gaps in the future.

In Jacobs' field recordings from VH (Jacobs 1929-30), combined forms appear as sequences of forms adjoining one another without intervening breaks, bounded initially and finally by full spaces--orthographic words. In preparing the texts for publication (Jacobs 1936:1-13), Jacobs preserved these units as originally recorded, while adopting certain conventions to clarify their structure. The original convention of the orthographic word is carried over in the transcription of dependent personal pronouns preposed to full forms. All other constituents are set off from one another by means of connecting dashes (in the 1932 structural Notes, dependent personal pronouns are likewise so treated). The following sample, presenting one punctuation-unit from Jacobs' original field notebooks (where only one punctuation mark, ., appears), followed by the corresponding unit as it appears in the published texts,

illustrates these differing usages. Note that in the published version, only one combined form appears as a whole typographic word--yagu:ri, the only form consisting of a dependent personal pronoun (ya '3 P.S.') preposed to a full form (gú:ri 'run').

[Original:]

áldawéxt yagú:ri táxni úkdənes-tútʃmən wiklí:liwəxt
yagú:ri kábaháus. [U=upsilon]

[Published:]

álda-wéxt yagú:ri táxni úk-dənes-tútʃmən,
wik-lí:li-wəxt yagú:ri kába-háus, . . .

[Translation, as published:]

'Then again the little girl ran outside, pretty soon
again she ran to the house, . . .'

The majority of combined forms transcribed by Jacobs for VH (see 4. below) demarcate whole syntactic constructions, either (a) fillers of specific syntactic function slots; or (b) complex verb forms, in which simplex or compounded verbs appear joined to pronouns or other verb-modifying elements. In the following examples of clause-level constructions (each identified with Jacobs' numbers for text, paragraph, and paragraph division), each full word or combined form shown exemplifies one of these two types.

- 1) álda dənes-háyas háyu-wáwa íkda.
now little-big FREQ-talk something
'Now something or other was talking a little louder'.
3:5(1).

- 2) dónəs-lí:li alda íkda yagámdaks,
 little- now some- 3PS-understand
 awhile thing
 'In a little while she heard something', 3:5(1).
- 3) qántʃi-lí:li gá:gwa-~~t~~ásga.
 such-awhile that way-3PP
 'I do not know how long a time they were like that'.
 1:1(2).
- 4) qántʃi-lí:li yámunk-gá:gwa.
 such-awhile 3PS-TRNS-that way
 'I do not know how long a time she was doing that'.
 1:4(2).
- 5) t'lú:nas álda yámunk-mí:məlust natʃótʃ.
 Presumably now 3PS-TRNS-dead 1PS-grandmother
 'Maybe he has killed my grandmother by now'.
 1:6(1).
- 6) ~~t~~ásman-gú:ri-yáxga.
 3PP-TRNS-run-3PS
 'They followed running after him'. 1:6(3).
- 7) kábət-í:xt-yáxga yámunk-kánawi-íkda,
 only-one-3PS 3PS-do-all-thing
 'She alone did everything', 3:12(3).
- 8) tʃágu-~~t~~áx uk-yalagú:m
 TRSL-out DEM-3PS-pitch
 'the pitch came out', 3:3(1)
- 9) lí::li álda tʃagu-tʃxóp uk-báya.
 awhile- now TRSL-ex- DEM-fire
 AUG tinct
 'After a time the fire went out'. 1:10(2).
- 10) uk-lamyái bí-yakwi?ím, kabit-mákwʃt, bús-~~t~~asmí:lait
 DEM-old- CONJ-3PS- only-two would-3PP-
 lady granddaughter stay
 kaba-háus.
 PREP-house
 'The old woman and her granddaughter, just the two of
 them, only they stayed at the house'. 1:1(1).
 [Internal punctuation added to published text--
 lacking in field transcript.]

- 8
- 11) álda í:xt-sá:n úk-lámiyai yága-hai-mank-ú:ʃtuʃ,
 now one-day DEM-old 3PS-FREQ-TRNS-good-good
 lady
 'Now one day when the old woman was straightening
 things', 3:2(1).
- 12) yága-hái-mank-plú:m wík-saya kába-ʔasbáya.
 3PS-FREQ-TRNS-broom not-far PREP-3PP-fire
 'when she was sweeping not far from the fire',
 3:2(1). [hái stressed in field transcript, not pub-
 lishd.]

The interlinear translations distinguish between items functioning primarily as grammatical markers, and all other items, glossed with English lexical equivalents. Most grammatical markers in VH's Jargon have alternate forms, which may be grouped into two sets: (1) a dependent set of modally unstressed and often otherwise reduced modifiers ("modal stress," note, as subject to certain conditioned modifications of basic stress pattern to be treated below), and (2) a set of corresponding stressed full-forms. Dependent variants occur usually joined, while full-form variants are much more likely to appear unjoined. Of the grammatical functions referred to, the following should probably be commented upon.

TRNS. munk, the common element of many compound verbs of stereotyped transitive meaning, is derived from the regional Jargon causative verb mamuk. An original or contributing causative meaning is usually evident, but not always obviously so: for example, munk-híhi in its

usual meaning ('TRNS laugh') is to mock someone, not "make them laugh"; and Jacobs' published translation of man-gú:ri (no. 6), 'they followed running after him', is a misleadingly dressed-up version of the field translation, 'they followed, ran after him' ('chase' is the most frequently-given meaning for this compound in my notes). múnk may also occur as a main verb ('to make, do'), in which case it is usually stressed.

TRSL. "Translative": a verb-forming element denoting change of state, whether processual or resultative.

FREQ. háyu, hayú is an adverbial meaning 'many, much'. For some Grand Ronde speakers, including the two being considered, this has given rise to the distinct form háyu (hai), a productive verb modifier indicating frequentive and/or continuative aspect.

Generally speaking, full forms may assume the syntactic functions of their dependent counterparts. At the same time, they may also be used to convey expressive and/or lexical meanings not ordinarily accruing to the dependent forms. The qualification "not ordinarily" is necessary because this rule does not operate entirely regularly. For example, in samples 4, 5, 6, 11 and 12 above an unstressed-joined mun(k) (or man(k)) forms compound transitive verbs. In 7, however, munk is apparently functioning as a main verb, corresponding to the

full form múnk, mánk (and unusually for VH, mámuk) 'to do, make' elsewhere (the form mámuk in context has the additional special meanings 'work', 'sexual intercourse'). Compare the inconsistently-given combinations múnk-lagámas (three instances), munk-lagámas (three instances), and mámuk lagámas (one instance, corrected to máunk lagámas) 'to dig [i.e., "do"] camas'.

2.1. Many combined forms in VH's texts consist of a dependent form preposed to a full form. These almost invariably coincide with endocentric (attribute-head) or exocentric (modifier-verb) constructions. Allowing for some expressively-motivated and/or irregular variation, monosyllabic dependent forms occur regularly unstressed, disyllabic dependent forms variably unstressed in these combinations. To cite from the foregoing examples:

[na[tʃʂt]], [ya[gámdaks]], [uk[báya]],
[tʃagu[tʃxʂp]], [kaba[háus]]. [úk[lámyai]],
[tʃágu[~~t~~áx]], [háyu[wáwa]].

The demonstrative pronoun uk (corresponding full form: úguk) occurs stressed in this environment more often than the short-form personal pronouns. Stress may have emphatic value in either case, although the texts and translations usually do not permit us to discriminate finer shadings of emphasis (as in extra-careful speech) from evidently unmotivated variation.

2.2. With only a few exceptions, postposed joined pronouns occur as full forms in VH's texts:

[[gá:gwa]tásga], [tás[man[gú:ri[yáxga]]],
[[kábet[í:xt]]yáxga].

2.3. In combined forms corresponding to endocentric attribute-head constructions lacking marked dependent constituents, head forms regularly occur stressed, attributive forms variably stressed:

[dénəs[háyas]], [dénəs[lí:li]], [qántʃi[lí:li]].
[kabit[mákwʃt]] (compare [[kabət[í:xt]---]).

The form [wík[saya]] provides another instructive exception. Attribute-head compounds in VH's Jargon are mostly bipartite, with stress falling regularly on the second and variably on the first member of the compound (some endocentric head-attribute constructions also occur, which bear stress on the first member but not on the second). By contrast, full forms are mostly disyllabic and initially stressed. The form wíksaya belongs to a group of compounds that seem to hover somewhere in between compounds and full forms. As used here, it seems to carry the weight of a full word--a prepositional element meaning 'not far from, close to'--notwithstanding its transparently compound character. WB, by contrast, always pronounces it as a compound--wíksáya, used both adverbially ('nearly, almost, near') and prepositionally.

2.4. In a sequence of two dependent forms preceding a main (head or verb) form, the main form occurs regularly stressed, the **first** dependent form variably stressed, the second dependent form regularly unstressed. Note the evident parallelism between the dependent portions of such compounds and the aforementioned dominant patterning for full forms.

[yá[munk[gá:gwa, -mí:məlust]]],
 [yága[hái[mank[plú:m]]], [úk[ya[lagú:m]]],
 [bí[ya[kwi?ím]]], [yá[mun[kánawi[íkda]]],
 [kába[ɬas[báya]]], [ɬás[man[gú:ri[yáxga]]],
 [yága[hai[manɰk [[ɬú:]ɬu]]]].

The form [bús[ɬas[mí:ɬait]]] illustrates another borderline case. bus is a versatile adverbial, being exemplified (1) as a verb-initial modal qualifying the action of the verb as somehow conditioned or hypothetical, (2) as a subordinating conjunction ('if', 'but', 'that'), (3) as a preposition ('for the sake of', 'than'), (4) as a frequent constituent both of idiomatic and de novo adverbial compounds. Here it exemplifies function (1), and as such parallels closely the verb-modifying elements I gloss with block letters. However, specialization of function is unaccompanied by any con-

sistent specialization of form in this case. Therefore, I treat bus the same way I treat other adverbials, although the English glosses required for interlinear translation are thereby necessarily various.

2.5. The example with bus is paralleled by many others in which adverbial forms appear joined to forms filling syntactic verb, subject or object slots. Such examples are frequent enough to define an alternate modal pattern. The following samples typify many others.

- 13) álda-yaʔú:maʔ úk-yat[ét].
 now-3PS-feed DEM-3PS-grandmother
 'she gave (of) it to her grandmother'. 3:2(2).
- 14) álda-uk-dónes-útʃmən lí:lí wík-yaʔá:dwa.
 now-DEM-little-girl awhile not-3PS-go
 'For awhile the little girl did not go'. 3:9(1).

3. Prosody.

The taperecorded samples of WB's Jargon drawn upon here, consisting both of sentence elicitations and excerpts from free conversation, exemplify the speaker's ordinary conversational style and rate of delivery, albeit subject to lapses and discontinuities attending long disuse of the language.

I have marked two degrees of accentuation accompanying stress in WB's Jargon, indicated as , less accented and ' more accentuated before each stressed form affected. Since stress usually falls on the first syllable of a stressed multisyllabic full form, the stress

marks, ' (full) and ` (reduced or secondary) are used only to mark variant stress placements. Taking into consideration also the occurrence of unstressed-unaccentuated (hence unmarked) forms, three degrees of syllable prominence may be distinguished.

Level 2: full stress with higher pitch.

Level 1: reduced stress, or stress (full or reduced) with lower pitch.

Level 0: Unstressed.

Each of the following samples transcribed according to the foregoing conventions corresponds syntactically to one or more clause-level constructions. Each string of forms bounded by |--a speech pause of less than 1 second--or #--a full stop--marks one breath group. (Note: A=caret, I=iota, U=upsilon.)

- 15) # ,dunus'hàya'fya, hayu'wa:wa #
- 16) # ,qAntfi'li:li#as, hayu'wawa #
- 17) # ,kagubus'Ikdatfau'qa:da, ya #
- 18) # ,kAbət'i:xt, nai | 'wa:wa, wawa, wa:wa #
- 19) | ,kanawe'Ikda, tfau'au:ʃ | kagəps | ,tfau'qwe:ʃ, kagwa #
- 20) # ,kanawe'Ikdana | munk'ʃUkʃUk #
- 21) # na, hayumunk'ʃUkʃUk #
- 22) | ?uk?uk'ba:sdən, yamunk'mi:məlust?ukya'?a:u |
 ,aldaya'ʃadwəkəbə .. |
 ya'ladwəkəba'ha:usya'?IsqAm, ?ukya'kàrapí:n, aldaya |
 munk'mi:məlust?uk'ba:sdən #

I developed the following further conventions--before I began trying to analyze Jacobs' transcriptional usages--in order to segment such groups in a manner equally revealing of the language's syntactic patterns, and the phonetic features marking those patterns.

Unstressed forms are transcribed with the stressed forms to which they are syntactically most immediately linked: joined by a dash, -, to following such forms, fused to preceding such forms. Endocentric compounds coinciding wholly or in part with immediate constituents of clauses are written as orthographic words--separated from one another by full spaces--provided that they do not occur also as constituents of complex verb forms--which are likewise transcribed as orthographic words. A complex verb form is defined as a simplex or compound verb, linked directly to one or more dependent modifying forms. With reference to the foregoing examples:

15) ,dunus'hàyaś ya-,hayu'wa:wa
 little-big 3PS-FREQ-talk
 'He's talking a little louder now'.

16) ,qAntʃi'li:li ṭas-,hayu'wa:wa
 such-awhile 3PP-FREQ-talk
 'They've been talking such a long time'.

17) ,kagubus 'Ikda ṭʃau-'qa:da,ya
 like-as some- TRSL-how-3PS
 thing

'Looks like something's happened to him'. [Or as
 the syntax of the Jargon would have it: 'looks
 like he's become something-howed'.]

- 18) ,kAbət'i:xt,nai | 'wa:wa,wawa,wa:wa
 only-one-1PS talk-talk-talk
 'I'm alone, (just) talking and talking and talking'.
- 19) ,kanawe'Ikda ,tʃau'ɬu:ʃ | kagəps- | ,tʃau'qwe:ɬ,kagwa
 all-thing TRSL-good like-as TRSL-tight-like
 'Everything turns out fine, its like it all ties together!'
- 20) ,kanawe'Ikda na- | munk-'ɬukɬuk
 all-thing 1PS TRNS-break-break
 'I break it all up'.
- 21) na-,hayumunk'ɬukɬuk
 1PS-FREQ-TRNS-break-break
 'I'm breaking it up'.
- 22) uk- uk-'basdən ,yamunk'mi:məlust ukya-'ʔa:u |
 DEM DEM-white 1PS-TRNS-dead DEM-3PS-brother
- ,alda ya-'ɬadwə kəbə-.. | ya-'ɬadwə kəba-'ha:us
 now 3PS-go PREP 3PS-go PREP-house
- ya-'Isgam ,ukya'kārapi:n ,alda ya- |
 3PS-get DEM-3PS-rifle now 3PS-
- munk-'mi:məlust uk-'ba:sdən
 TRNS-dead DEM-white
 'That, that white man killed his brother. So then he
 went to, he went to the house, he got his rifle, and
 then he killed that white man'.

It will be noted that the orthographic words so marked occur at levels of structural segmentation identical to those exemplified by the combined forms illustrated in VH samples 1-12. When these and other samples are compared further, it becomes evident that the prosodic patterns characterizing WB's orthographic words closely parallel the patterning of stressed and unstressed constituents in VH's combined forms. This may be illustrated with reference to samples 15-22, in con-

junction with the compilation of forms already presented for VH (certain points at which the two speakers' usages differ will become evident--these, again, await treatment elsewhere):

3.1. (:2.1.). [munk[['ʔuk]ʔuk],-mi:məlust]],
[uk['ba(:)sdən]], [ya['ʔadwa]], [kaba['ha:us]],
[ya['Isgam]]. [,tʃau['ʔu:ʃ]].

3.2. (:2.2.). [[tʃau['qa:da]],ya],
[[,kAbət['i:xt]],nai].

3.3. (:2.3.). [,dunus['hàyáʃ]], [,qAntʃi['li:li]],
[,kanawe['Ikda]].

3.4. (:2.4.). [,ya[munk['mi:məlust]]],
[,uk[ya['kàrapí:n]]], [na[,hayu[munk[['ʔuk]ʔuk]]]].
[uk[ya['ʔa:u]]], [ya-,ʔas[,hayu['wa:wa]]].

3.5. (:2.5.). The variant modal patterning given in VH samples 13-14 is paralleled to the extent that simplex adverbial forms ordinarily occur at level 1 (in example 19 at level 0)--that is, at a lower prominence level than (and therefore likely to be perceived as subordinate to) accompanying verb and substantive forms.

4. Implications.

The types of combined form described with reference to samples 1-12 and 13-14 account for the majority of such forms appearing in VH's texts. Virtually all variances from modal type involve forms that only partially

realize full syntactic constructions (it must be pointed out that such a determination occasionally involves fine points of interpretation--which, again, must await treatment elsewhere). I have not provided counts of modal and non-modal forms for all texts, since the frequency of occurrence of combined forms per text and portion of text, as well as their degrees of coincidence with whole constructions, are somewhat variable. This may be seen especially for the first-recorded and last-recorded texts, numbers 2 and 4 respectively. Text 4, with approximately 17 full lines of (published) text, has a total of 74 combined forms, or an average of 4.35 per line. Of these, 47 (.64 of the total) realize whole syntactic constructions; almost all the remaining (.30 of the total) are accounted for by the other modal type. Text 2, with 34 lines, has 112 combined forms, or an average of only 3.29 per line. Of these, about .79 realize whole syntactic constructions, while .07 exemplify the other modal type; .13, alongside .08 for text 4, are partial realizations of whole constructions.

The most significant of these several variances between the two texts is the first--the higher frequency of occurrence for text 4. A principal reason for this variance is that in text 4, items with dependent and independent variants exhibit a near-perfect match between

form and function. In text 2, by contrast, many independent variants assume their dependent-form grammatical functions. In some clauses, indeed, not a single dependent variant is to be found, and VH seems to be speaking something very like pidgin Jargon.

- 23) álda tásga tšágwa náiga tát.
 now 3PP come 1PS uncle
 '"Now my uncles are coming"'. 2:3(2).
- 24) gwá::nisim gwónəm yaga tát táska tadu-nánitš
 always five 3PS uncle 3PP go-look
 má:witš
 deer
 'Her five uncles went hunting deer all the time'.
 2:1(1)

This peculiarity, together with the fact that text 2 was the first recorded, suggest that Jacobs' initial lack of familiarity with the language prompted the informant to speak exceptionally carefully and deliberately. The data from WB confirm this surmise, to the extent that they show full forms assuming dependent-form grammatical functions only for specific and restricted purposes. Basically, WB resorts to such substitutions only in order to convey emphasis. His usage and his introspection agree that full forms convey a "stronger" impression, which, depending on circumstances, may convey the speaker's emotional state, or be used just to make communication clearer--more explicit.

I have elsewhere suggested (Zenk 1988) that Grand

Ronde speakers could have found the more "pidgin"-like style of Jargon suggested by VH's samples 23-24 useful for certain purposes--as in communicating with White speakers (or linguists?) perceived to be subcompetent in the language. The data from WB are not conclusive in this regard, since I was unable to secure uniform samples of such a style of Jargon from him. That is, he employs the substitutions in question only on a form-by-form basis, not on a scale suggesting anything like a distinct stylistic register. At the same time, he is also aware that some people spoke Jargon in such a fashion, and he professes not to find this particularly unusual: "that all comes in Jargon," as he commented once.

The foregoing observations permit me to suggest, by way of conclusion, an explanation for the high degree of coincidence between orthographic and syntactic units in Jacobs' Jargon texts from VH. Jacobs' own remarks (1932:33-34, 1936:v-vi) suggest that he perceived combined forms to be phonetically real entities. I would suggest that an important factor in that perception resides in the pragmatics of the live-dictation situation in which Jacobs worked. In brief, it would appear that VH tried to dictate her texts to Jacobs carefully and deliberately, out of deference to his (impressive but not unlimited) capacity to write as fast as she talked. In

this light, it comes as no particular surprise that almost all the clauses recorded with unjoined full forms to the exclusion of combined forms occur in the first text dictated. The Jargon of VH's remaining texts, in which syntactic units up to specific levels of inclusiveness are realized wholly or partially as combined forms, very likely represents Jargon as she was used to and/or preferred to speak it--yet produced with some special effort to keep it neat and precise. VH's Jargon as we have it, that is to say, seems to some extent to be a Jargon deliberately styled with reference to the live dictation situation.

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THE TRANSLATION OF THE NAME "KWAKIUTL"

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1. Franz Boas may not have believed his Kwakwaka'wakw informants when they told him that *kʷagúʔ* or *kʷaguʔ* (anglicized as "Kwakiutl") means "smoke of the world" (1897: 330) or just "smoke" (1920 in 1940:357), but the following argument shows that the name's connection with smoke is not far-fetched. We will use the notations "HA, HE, OO, KW" to refer to, respectively, the Haisla, Heiltsuk, Oowekyala, and Kwakwaka'wakw isolects of North Wakashan. All non-English is italicized. In transcriptions, individual phonemes (but not phonemic words) are written between // and canonical morpheme forms between {}. Individual constituents of these canonical forms, i.e. morphophonemes, are cited between |. For readability's sake, in both phonemic and morphophonemic transcriptions symbols for vowels and vocalic resonants are used even though these latter are but allophones of their corresponding consonantal resonants.

2. In interviews with Kitlope elder Gordon Robertson a name HA *kʷakʷkʷsduàʔyú* was recorded which refers to specimens of at least two species of puffball fungi, viz *Bovista pila* Berk. & Curt. (Christ s.n., 21 Sept. 1980, UBC) and *B. plumbea* Pers. (Calder & MacKay s.n., 18 May 1981, UBC) (Lycoperdaceae).¹ The mature body of a puffball fungus has a spherical shape; squeezing it results in the release of a cloud of fine dust, the spores. In *Bovista* spp. this spore cloud is somewhat dark and smoky-looking. Mr. Robertson says that *kʷakʷkʷsduàʔyú* was believed to be dangerous; a ghost might squeeze it to hurt your eyes with the spores coming out of it. He described these spores himself as a black powder on 7 March 1988 and as a black cloud on 4 May 1988. On the latter date he also qualified the nature of the hurt as loss of sight and indicated that instead of HA *kʷakʷkʷsduàʔyú*, which he said refers to putting the spores in a victim's eyes, the longer name HA *kʷakʷkʷsduàʔyú hs híziq̓* could be used which mentions the ghostly perpetrator of the act.

3. The etymology of the HA terms is somewhat complex. The addition *hs híziq̓* means "of/by a ghost." The name *kʷakʷkʷsduàʔyú* analyzes as *kʷakʷkʷ-sdu-à-yú*. The second

¹ To be exact, Mr. Robertson's explications of the reference of HA *kʷakʷkʷsduàʔyú* fit *Bovista* spp. best and he moreover decidedly rejected the possibility of reference to other members of the puffball group, e.g. locally common species of *Lycoperdon*. On the other hand, the possibility is still open that the name refers both to on the one hand *B. pila* and *B. plumbea*, and on the other a third less common species of *Bovista* or members of the genus *Bovistella* which is closely related to *Bovista*. For more botanical information on puffballs see Coker and Couch (1928), and Smith (1951).

/kʷ/ in the root allomorph *kʷakʷkʷ-* is the reduplicate of initial /kʷ/, the reduplication being an exponent of *-a* meaning not just “to do” but “to do repeatedly or intensively.” The final suffix allomorph, *-yú*, can be glossed as “agency, means to an end, instrument, embodiment.” Although *-sdu* can mean various things beside “in the eyes,” the latter gloss is appropriate in the case of *kʷakʷkʷsduàýu* considering this name’s reference to spores in one’s eyes. The structural parallelism is obvious between *kʷakʷkʷsduàýu* and the following items in which /s/ is written before the reduplicate of the initial phoneme to indicate the not otherwise predictable phonetic schwa between the reduplicate and the next obstruent.

HA *ma:mǎ-sdu-à-yú* “eyebrow tweezers” (root: {*maq-*} “to pluck, tweeze, snap apart, etc.”; see e.g. also HA *màq-à/la* “to go out to pick seaweed”)

HA *xi:ǎk-sǎ-à* “to peel potatoes etc.” (root: {*ǎix-*} “to whittle wood etc.”; see e.g. also HA *ǎik-sǎ-d* “to whittle off chips with fine adze” and HA *ǎi:ǎx-bà* “to make a point on a stick.”)

Note that in Haisla before /s/ there is neutralization of the opposition between /k/ and /x/, /kʷ/ and /xʷ/, /q/ and /ǎ/, /qʷ/ and /ǎʷ/, the transcriptional policy being to write /ks, kʷs/ (with a plosive before /s/) on the one hand but /ǎs, ǎʷs/ (with a fricative before /s/) on the other as this comes closest to phonetic reality.

4. Now which canonical root form does *kʷakʷkʷ-* derive from, {*kʷakʷ-*} or {*kʷaxʷ-*}? Very likely {*kʷaxʷ-*} because Mr. Robertson, when explaining the meaning of the name HA *kʷakʷkʷsduàýu*, mentioned the words HA *kʷkʷsdu* “spores (‘cloud’) from the *kʷakʷkʷsduàýu* when hitting your eye,” HA *kʷkʷsdud* “to make the spores hit your eye,” and HA *kʷkʷsdukʷ* “person hit in the eyes by the spores.” The root of the latter three items is undoubtedly HA/HE/OO {*kʷxʷ-*}, KW {*kxʷ-*} the proper gloss for which has always remained somewhat problematic but which in any event must comprise “to blow out forcefully (smoke, steam, breath, hot air, dust), to rise (said of same).” Although the /a/ in *kʷaxʷ-* cannot be explained away as a regular morphophonemically conditioned augment to the root {*kʷxʷ-*}, there are several instances of a type “obstruent+obstruent” root having a counterpart with |a| inserted between the same obstruents. Let the following examples suffice, HA/HE/OO/KW {*kʷp-*} “to hold by squeezing, use tongs, etc.” and HA/HE/OO/KW {*kʷap-*} “to gnaw”; HA/HE/OO/KW {*tqʷ-*} “covered with dirt, dust, soil” and HA/HE/OO/KW {*taqʷ-*} “to cover with or as if with a sheet.”

5. Given that the meaning of the root {*kʷaxʷ-*} of HA *kʷakʷkʷsduàýu* must be related to that of {*kʷxʷ-* / *kxʷ-*}, is it possible to identify {*kʷaxʷ-*} with the root {*kʷaxʷ-*} for which the glosses “hole, hollow” and “lungs” are given in Rath and Lincoln (1981:284, 1986:458)? Yes, if the meaning of the one root {*kʷaxʷ-*} really is “bellows, belly, blow, air bag,” and see Webster’s Collegiate dictionary for the historical connection between the first three English items.

6. The ethnic name KW *k^waguł* and *k^wagúł* does not contain this root {*k^wax^w*-}, however. Its root is {*k^wak^w*-}, the final morphophoneme |*k^w*| of which has become the phoneme /*g^w*/ with secondary loss of the labialization due to the fact that a rounded phoneme follows. (No such loss of labialization occurs in the HA/HE/OO counterparts, cf. HA *k^wag^wùł*, HE *k^wág^wúł*, OO *k^wag^wuł*.) Given that the suffix allomorph -*uł*/-*úł* in KW *k^waguł*, *k^wagúł* means "stuff, substance, having the nature of," what does the root {*k^wak^w*-} mean? There is at least the possibility of it being related or even identical in meaning to {*k^wax^w*-} because there are other cases of a root ending in a fricative alternating with one ending in a plosive. Some examples are HA/HE/OO/KW {*t̥ps*-} and also HA {*t̥pc*-} "cold"; HA/HE/OO {*t̥ix*-}, KW {*t̥ik*-} "to recline etc."; KW {*m̥ns*-}, HA/HE/OO {*m̥nc*-} "to measure, weigh, try, etc."; OO/KW {*ṣax̥*-} and HA/HE/OO {*ṣaq*-} "bone"; KW {*ṣls*-}, OO {*ṣlc*-} "to scratch (like people fighting), to claw, to scratch up or skim with the fingers"; HA/HE/OO/KW {*ḡ^wax̥^w*-} and OO {*ḡ^waq^w*-} "to croak, raven" (HE/OO also {*ḡ^wṣ^w*-}). If {*k^wak^w*-} is indeed related to {*k^wax^w*-} it may refer to powder, air, breath, or smoke rising or being blown out of containment, which is compatible with Boas's informants' explanation of KW *k^waguł*, *k^wagúł*.

7. Note finally that Boas mentions (1920 in 1940:357) that not only do his Kwakwala informants believe that the name "Kwakiutl" has to do with smoke, but also that it is actually related etymologically to the derivatives of the root {*k^wax*-}, e.g. KW *k^wax-a* "to smoke," KW *k^wax-la* "smoke of fire," etc (cf. Boas 1948:300). Boas goes on to say that {*k^wax*-} means "smoke" and that he is certain that the etymology must be rejected. And Boas is right inasmuch as the root morph *k^wag-* of KW *k^waguł*, *k^wagúł* results from underlying **k^wag^w*-, **k^wag^w*- (see above) while the morphophonemics of contemporary North Wakashan could not explain how the root {*k^wax*-} could be actualized as *k^wag^w*-. To say this differently, he is right inasmuch as by contemporary rule a root-final morphophoneme |*x*| can be realized as a phoneme /*x*/, /*n*/, /*ɲ*/, /*ɳ*/, or /*ɰ*/ but root-final |*k^w*| as a phoneme /*k^w*/, /*g^w*/, /*k^w*/, /*x^w*/ or, in KW before a rounded phoneme, /*k*/, /*g*/, /*k*/, or /*x*/. Nevertheless, one wonders if the root {*k^wax*-} really only means "smoke" and if there is not some historical connection between on the one hand {*k^wax*-} and on the other {*k^wax^w*-} and {*k^wak^w*-}. After all, Sapir and Swadesh (1939:287) list a root {*k^wax*-} "to splash, spray, wash over" for the Tsehaht islect of South Wakashan.² Admittedly these considerations do not settle the matter of the meaning of "Kwakiutl" yet definitively. They do however highlight the need for the comparative study of Wakashan morphophonemics along with environmental and cultural studies of the area concerned.

² Some of the many other Tsehaht items bearing on our issue are *k^wax̥is* "wild onion" and *k^wax̥ox̥^w* "to urinate (said of woman)," both of which might derive synchronically or diachronically from this same (Tsehaht) root {*k^wax*-}, and the root {*koh(ʷ)*-} "open, hollow," which latter corresponds to HA/HE/OO {*k^wx^w*-}, KW {*kx^w*-} and/or HA/HE/OO/KW {*k^wax^w*-}.

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"I WOULDN'T BE HERE":
ENGLISH WORDS, WISHRAM PATTERNS

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Morphemes and words from one language may be arranged in patterns from another. That is a familiar fact with regard to phrases and other syntactic sequences.¹ The same may occur with regard to discourse sequences, patterns of relations among lines known as ethnopoetic or rhetorical.

Two Salish conference contributions have pointed to this. My 1982 paper described a text uncertain and changing in its dialect identity, but almost perfect in its maintenance of rhetorical form. My contribution to the Victoria conference (1987) reported that narratives in Chinook jargon differ in such patterning. Some narratives recorded by Melville Jacobs show relationships of two and four; others show relations of three and five. Some of the latter narratives are from speakers of Clackamas Chinook and Santiam Kalapuya. Since their narratives in those languages have relations of three and five, the jargon texts appear to carry over the patterning of a native language. Two and four part patterning in jargon narratives from speakers of Saanich and Snoqualmie Salish probably carries over patterning typical of those languages.

What follows is an account whose words are English but whose relations are of the kind found in traditional Wishram Chinook discourse. The source is Philip Kahclamat, who worked with Walter Dyk and Edward Sapir in the early 1930s, and David and Katherine French and myself in the 1950s.

-1-

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- 1 See now Sarah Grey Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988) for discussion of the phenomenon in terms of its implications for historical linguistics.

 - 2 The import appears to be that of something imagined counter-to-fact, even ironic, as in the Kathlamet Chinook Salmon's myth, and several Clackamas Chinook texts related by Victoria Howard (cf. Hymes 1985a, b). Hence the supplying of a question mark.

I cannot date the account precisely. It must have been spoken in one of the three summers in which we worked together (1954, 1956, 1957) before Mr. Kachlamat's death in 1958. Unlike the related text, 'The crier', first published in 1973, 1975 and discussed in Hymes 1981 (chs. 3, 6), it was evidently not spoken in a time intended for work. The text is not in my notebooks, but on both sides of a 5 by 8 piece of white paper in the handwriting of Virginia Hymes. Recognizing the significance of what Philip had begun to say, evidently she wrote down his words on whatever was available. I suspect that this occurred the last time we saw Philip, late in the summer of 1957, when he came to my mother's house in Portland, and sat for a while beside the bed to which I was confined with hepatitis. But I cannot be sure.

The piece of paper was forgotten for some years. It was later (27 December 1971) found in a school composition notebook that had been used by Dyk for some pages of Wishram text from Mr. Kachlamat. It was not noted in the paper with the related text, 'The crier', because that paper ('Breakthrough into performance') had already been sent for publication.

On the following page the alignment of words and lines on the original piece of paper is reproduced. For reference, the lines are enumerated in *italics*.

She told that this kid died he
 died allright. He got as far as
 where the Pauyapa:t -- two
 roads "separate" happy hunting ground
 earth

5

that's wher you get your judgment. I got
 to the deity. I stood in front
 of him. Oh. He looked at me.
 You already coming here?

I don't know what I say,

10

Now he said, You, you
 didn't even live on the
 earth in the flesh. Your time is up you coming
 here yet. Now he said I
 think you go back I send
 you back. You gonna have to
 leave your life on
 earth that's O.K. You go /overleaf/

15

back you go. That's
 time I start moving
 people see me start moving.

20

Reason my mother
 told me why I come back-
 after I got be 12-mother
 told me is because I part
 Sahaptin. Sahaptin chosen
 people. If I full Chinook I
 be dead now. Wouldn't be here.
 So that's reason I believe in
 Long House religion now if
 it wasn't for it I wouldn't
 be here. I'm gonna stay wi
 it. That's the end of my
 story now.

25

30

Elements that enter into traditional narrative form clearly are present in this English account.

There are turns at talk. It is striking that only the three turns at talk of the deity contain quoted speech (written lines 2, 11-14, 14-19). The two turns at talk of the mother do not quote, but report what she said (written lines 1, 23-24, 25-28).

There are sentence-initial time expressions: 'Now' (written lines 11, 14) and 'That's time' (written line 19-20). These three initial markers, like the three instances of quoted speech, are associated with the deity.

This concentration of markers (quoted speech, initial time-expressions) indicates an expressive center to the narrative. (Cf. the concentration of expressive markers in the central act of Louis Simpson's Wishram narrative, 'The deserted boy' (Hymes 1981 [1976], ch. 4)). This center seems to be the three verses marked by initial time expressions. They consist of the two successive instances of extended, declarative speech by the deity, and of its outcome. The two instances of declarative speech are the only two verses begun by 'Now', whose Wishram equivalent aga is a major formal marker, and it is only in these two verses that quoted speech is prefaced by a verb of saying. The Chinookan rhetorical logic of onset, ongoing, outcome is evident: Now you didn't even live, Now go back, That's time start moving.

There are less salient indications of organization in what precedes and follows these markers.

In what precedes, 'this kid' is introduced in the third person (written lines 1-6), but then becomes an 'I' (written lines 6ff). That suggests a new, second group of lines.

Within the first group of lines, there appear to be three segments. The second is a three element excursus of explanation, somewhat isolated by space in the writing (written lines 4-5). The terms "roads 'separate'" provide a gloss of the Sahaptin word that precedes. Pauyapat [=pa-wiyapa:-t] is the nominalization (-t) of an intransitive verb stem (-wiya-pa:-) that means 'to separate, split' (-pa:-) 'while going along' (-wiya-). The initial pa- is a third person marker. (I am indebted to Virginia Hymes for this information). The further terms 'happy hunting ground', and 'earth', indicate the two realms that are separated. One road leads on to the happy hunting ground, one back to earth. (Cf. the latter part of ch. 6 in Hymes 1981 for an example from the 1950s of a narrative in which Philip Kahclamat intersperses explanation).

This suggests that the words remaining, before the shift to "I", are a third segment in the first group. Note the parallel 'where'. To be sure, the written record may not contain the very beginning of the account. Probably Mr. Kachlamet began speaking of the subject before pen reached paper. Probably, however, not very long before. The dramatization that comes with self-identification ("I"), quoted speech, and time markers, the breakthrough into performance, as it were, begins some lines into what is recorded, and the narrated event is complete. The event is framed as what a woman (his mother) told, and there might well have been something more of that frame. The first group of lines, in other words, may well have been larger. The organization of the account overall does not seem to be affected. The end of the account is explicitly announced. In reaching the end there are four further major groups, as will be seen, hence five such groups in all, and a larger first group leaves the total a suitably Chinookan five.

The second group appears to consist of a sequence of three turns at action, taken by "I", "He", and "I".

All this suggests three groups of lines, each of three verses, the third marked by three initial time-expressions. Groups of three are a common form of pattern in Chinookan discourse. And these three groups culminate in a climax, the return to life of the dead child (written lines 19-21).

Loss of soul, followed by its return, was a source of knowledge of the other realm (cf. Cultee's account of what was learned for the first time when his grandfather returned (Boas 1901: 247-51). It was also sometimes a basis for new religious practice, as with the Prophet Dance, Smohalla movement, and Feather religion (Spier 1935, DuBois 1938, Pope 1953, French 1961: 393-4), the last still remembered by some on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation. Mr. Kachlamet's return is neither a source of new knowledge or new practice, but of loyalty. Loyalty to the Long House religion (also known as wašat) informs as well his spontaneous performance of what a traditional crier, going about the village, would have said, as to cleaving to the Indian religion, avoiding religions brought by Whites (see the opening of ch. 6 of Hymes 1981).

It is this loyalty which is stated in what follows the narrative reenactment.

These lines appear to be grouped in two parts, both introduced with 'reason' (22-29, 30-34). The first has the reason the mother gave for the return. It is akin to free indirect discourse, recounting without quoting. The second takes the first as reason for continued adherence to the Long House religion.

Within the first part the repetition of 'mother told me' appears significant, indicating two parallel groups of lines. The part as a whole appears to have three groups, each of three lines.

The second part appears to have six lines, grouped in three pairs. Pairwise grouping is marked in traditional Chinookan discourse, a form of intensification, and it may be fair to see it as intended here.

The account is presented on the next page in terms of this analysis. Here is a profile of it form.

Stanza	Verses	Lines	Features
A	abc	1-2, 3-6, 7	where : where
B	abc	8-9, 10-11, 12	I : he : I; turns at talk
C	a	13-16	Now, turn at talk
	b	17-23	Now, turn at talk, "I..you back "you go (back)"
	c	24-25	That's time, start moving
D	a	26-28	Reason, mother told me
	b	29-31	mother told me, Sahaptin
	c	32-34	wouldn't be here
E	a	35-36	reason, ...now
	b	37-38	wouldn't be here
	c	39-40	end, ...now

She told that this kid died
 he died alright
 He got as far as where the pauyapa:t -
 two roads 'separate' -
 happy hunting ground, 5
 earth
 That's where you get your judgment

 I got to the deity
 I stood in front of him
 He looked at me 10
 "You already coming here?"
 I don't know what I say

 Now he said
 "You, you didn't even live in the earth in the flesh
 >Your time is up 15
 >You coming here yet?²"
 Now he said
 "I think you go back
 "I send you back
 >You gonna have to leave³ your life on earth 20
 "that's O.K.
 >You go back
 >You go"
 That's time I start moving
 people see me start moving 25

 Reason my mother told me
 why I come back -
 after I got to be 12 -
 mother told me
 is because I part Sahaptin 30
 Sahaptin chosen people

-7-

3 Presumably for 'live'. The vowels of 'leave' and 'live' do not
 contrast in Wishram.

If I full Chinook
 I be dead now
 wouldn't be here

So that's reason 35
 I believe in Long House religion now
 If it wasn't for it
 I wouldn't be here
 I'm gonna stay with it
 That's the end of my story now 40

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SPLIT-HIS-OWN-HEAD:

ENGLISH WORDS, TILLAMOOK PATTERNS?

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In the preface to Nehalem Tillamook Tales Elizabeth Jacobs writes (1959: viii):

"Early in the work I suspected that Mrs. Pearson, while telling the stories in English, was doing so by means of a rapid and close translation from the native into English. She had certainly learned all the tales in the medium of the Tillamook language. As a check on the closeness and precision of her translation I asked Dr. [Melville] Jacobs to record in phonetic transcription the story, "Split-His-Own-Head," after she had dictated it in English. The fact that the two accounts were almost identical for this tale does not prove that Mrs. Pearson always held so closely to the native original. But this experiment strengthened my constant feeling that, in the case of Mrs. Pearson, there was a minimal amount of distortion of content and style in a procedure where a literature was being noted in the inadequate and frustrating terms of another language. Dr. May M. Edel, who recorded texts from Mrs. Pearson about three years before, in 1931, has discussed some of the factors responsible for the few features of difference in her recordings and the dictations that were offered to me in English.¹"

May Mandelbaum Edel's article (for a copy of which I am indebted to Abraham Edel) notes 'a greater [explanatory] expansiveness in the English version' obtained by Bess Jacobs, and that 'Some new episodes are included...without affecting the order, point, or treatment of other episodes' (1944: 116). The new episodes are explained as 'Mrs. Pearson's recollection was obviously improving. She remembered omitted episodes just as she remembered a number of whole tales she had not been able to think of three summers before' (*idem*). The same reason perhaps enters into the explanatory expansion in the English versions, 'the more explicit statements of motivation and explanation of the unusual' (126). Dr. Edel writes: "Some of these additions were explicitly parenthetical; others were incorporated as

¹ The footnote identifies Edel 1944.

part of the tale" (125). Improved recollection might enter into the fact that "There is also a greater richness in details of conversation and the delineation of character" (in the English versions), but Dr. Edel considers that "The relative thinness of the [Tillamook] texts is in part due to the slow and repetitious telling which the Tillamook recording involved" [*idem*]. Another factor may be that Mrs. Pearson was not accustomed to telling the stories in Tillamook. She "had never been a raconteur, though she did have a genuine flair for story-telling. She had told the stories occasionally before, but in English, to white neighbors" (117).

In sum, Bess Jacobs' work in 1934 appears to have benefited from the stimulus to memory of the work of May Edel in 1931, from the stimulus to explanation that telling Tillamook stories in English may bring, and from the fact that Mrs. Pearson's previous practice in telling the stories had been in English. Obtaining the same stories, a second time, in a second language, was not redundant, but enriching.

The close fit between the Tillamook and English versions, and the indications of authentic performance of the English versions, encourage one to think that the English words may exhibit Tillamook form with respect to relations among lines. The story recorded a second time in Tillamook by Melville Jacobs, 'Split-His-Own-Head', would seem an especially favorable case. It may be possible to detect something of the nature of poetic, or rhetorical, discourse form from the English version.

One might understandably think that the place to begin is with Tillamook. The texts in Tillamook have not as yet been published, and there is one advantage in beginning with English. Patterning detected in the English has not been shaped by acquaintance with the Tillamook. If subsequently the patterning in the English telling is found to coincide with that in the Tillamook, the result confirms the conclusion earlier arrived at by Jacobs and Edel. Indeed, it does so in a deepened way. When Edel affirmed that 'the actual style differences appear startlingly slight' (126), the examples indicate that she was considering differences in the handling of incident, especially dialogue, its wording and elaboration. It may be possible to establish that in respect to Tillamook tradition the narrative competence of Clara Pearson was constant across two languages in fundamental principles of form.

The story in question, 'Split-his-own-head, has value for the light it sheds on a Clackamas Chinook story, 'Bluejay and his older sister' (Jacobs 1959: 366-9, no. 41), a story which in the repertoire of Victoria Howard has become part of a series with others involving a mother, daughter, and younger brother, and, I think, part of a use of the figure of Seal (mother, older sister) as a focus of narrative reflection on cultural catastrophe. (For the first link, see Hymes 1981, chs. 8, 9; the second is sketched in unpublished manuscripts).

With regard to form, the English telling appears to make use of verses of three and five lines within stanzas grouped in sets of two and four. This may seem surprising. Most traditions so far studied appear to use either three and five, or two and four. Yet pairing may occur as a marked pattern in traditions in which three and five constitute the normal, 'default', case, and three-part marking may occur expressively in traditions in which two and four are normal. Moreover, among the Karok of the Klamath River one narrator may make use of three and five, another two and four, for the same story, and the same narrator make use of each for different stories. (See Hymes 1985). And Bess Jacobs observes (116, n. 21): 'Note that four is the pattern number of feminine contexts, five of masculine contexts, in Tillamook folklore'. The immediate reference is to the number of siblings in a set, not of course to verses and stanzas, but the number of siblings, and associated repetitions of incident, regularly is the same as the larger pattern number for discourse units.

The 'logic' of the action among the sets of three verses in each stanza appears to be like that of Chinookan triads, an onset, something ongoing, an outcome.

The 'logic' of the action among the sets of four stanzas in each scene appears to be like that of paired sets in Tonkawa, an initiation, an outcome; an initiation, an outcome.

Specific to this story in scenes [i, ii] is the four-part pattern: misinterpretation, wrong action; correction of interpretation, correct action.

In scene [iii] the first stanza establishes two instructions, where to be in the canoe, and what to do with the dentalia. The second stanza has the wrong action, correction of interpretation(?--"Oh, I suppose your sister told you to do that") and remedial action for the first instruction. The third and

fourth stanzas give the wrong action, correction of interpretation (?), and remedial action for the second instruction.

In scene iv the first stanza gives the instruction, and a second stanza has a [report of] wrong action, and correction of interpretation. [The error, eating all the fish, admits of no correction]

In scene v the first two stanzas parallel the first two stanzas of scene [iii] in that there is instruction as where to be in the canoe in (A), wrong action, correction of interpretation, and implied remedial action in (B). There is a further parallel between the last stanzas of scenes iii and v: they buy whale meat and return home. But scene v has no intervening third stanza. The pairing of the instruction and its outcome in the two stanzas seems simply to be given a coda or epilogue.

Scene vi is the most structurally complex of the six. It has an additional level of organization. It has four main parts, but these are not stanzas, but sections that contain stanzas. The common theme of getting a wife is developed in four successive incidents. In each of the four there is an instruction, misunderstood in the first three sections, understood correctly in the fourth and last.

The first three sections have the four part pattern of action of the first two scenes. The instruction is followed by a wrong action, a correction of the interpretation, and a correction of the action. Only the first and third express this in a four part organization. The second and fourth sections have just two parts. In the second the first stanza has the instruction, and the second stanza has the wrong action, correction of interpretation, correction of action. In all of these the fourth element, the corrective action, is quite brief (cf. the concluding element in scenes iii and v).

The fourth section has one instruction, one action. The first stanza has a common pattern of instruction, response, departure. The second stanza has simply a correct action, evaluated as such.

Possibly the full story has two main divisions, one of five parts, one of four. Going to buy whale meat occurs as third and fifth scene. That is analogous to five part patterns in Chinookan, where the third element is an intermediate outcome, the fifth a final outcome. Perhaps these scenes are focussed upon Split-His-Own-Head as male. Perhaps the conclusion, having to do with getting a wife, could be taken as having four parts because it is focussed on a woman. This is speculative, but it would be in keeping with Jacobs' observation as to gender linkage of five and four part series.

Here is a profile of 'Split-His-Own-Head' (Jacobs 1959: 118-20 (no. 37).

<u>Scene</u>	<u>Stanza</u>	<u>Verse</u>	<u>Lines</u>
<u>i</u> [canoe]	A	abc	1-2, 3-8, 9-12
	B	abc	13-15, 16-19, 20
	C	abc	21-22, 23, 24-27
	D	abc	28-30, 31, 32-34
<u>ii</u> [stick]	A	abcde	35-37, 38-39, 40-41, 42-44, 45
	B	abc	46, 47-49, 50-52
	C	abc	53-56, 57-58, 59-60
	D	abc	61-62, 63-64, 65-66
<u>iii</u> [whale]	A	abc	67-73, 74, 75-78 [79-82]
	B	abc	83-87, 88-90, 91
	C	abcde	92-4, 95-9, 100-2, 103-4, 105
	D		106-7
<u>iv</u> [salmon]	A	abc	108-110, 111-113, [114-116]
	B	abcde	117, 118-20, 121-3, 124-6, 127-31
<u>v</u> [whale]	A	abc	132, 133-134, 135-136
	B	abcde	137-41, 142-4, 145-6, 147-51, 152-3
	C		154-156
<u>vi</u> [wife]			
(1) (dead)	A	abc	158-162, 163, 164
	B	abc	165-167, 168-169, 170-171
	C	a(bc)(de) (fg)h	172, (173-4, 175-6), (177-8, 179) (180, 181-3), 184-6
	D		187
(2) (old)	A	abc	188-91, 192, 193-194
	B	abc	195-197, 198-202, 203

(3) (baby)	A	abc	204-207, 208, 209
	B		210-212
	C	abcde	213-7, 218-9, 220-1, 222-3, 224-6
	D		227-229
(4) (young)	A	abc	230-235, 236-237, 238
	B		239-241
Close			242

Notice that the interpolated explanation of lines [79-82] appears to stand outside the verse and stanza organization, while the interpolated explanation of lines [114-116] appears to fit within it.

The organization of 172-186 is complex. Seven verses belong to the stanza. There appear to be three pairs of verses, indicated by enclosure in parentheses, between single opening and closing verses.

Further study of Tillamook narratives is of course likely to modify some of the interpretations indicated above.

[i] [Canoe]

Split-his-own-head was living with his older sister.

They had no mother or father.

One day she told him,

"Oh, I am tired.

"I am getting so tired of it.

5

"I go on foot all the time to dig yetska roots.

"Why do you not make a canoe for me?

Even one of rotten wood would be better than walking all the time."

"Ha!",

he said.

10

"Your brother certainly can do that.

"Nothing will stop me from making a canoe."

He made a canoe for her.

That canoe was quickly finished.

It was very fine looking.

15

She made preparations to go digging roots.

She threw her root digger into the canoe.

That stick went right through the bottom of that canoe,
because that canoe was made of rotten wood.

She became angry.

20

She came back in the house.

"Oh goodness, you made a canoe of rotten wood."

"Well, sister, you told me to do that."

"Oh, I did not really mean rotten wood.

"I just said it that way,

25

"because I meant

"why on earth can you not make a canoe for me."

She started out on foot then to go for roots.

Before she left, she said

"You must make a canoe out of a good cedar log."

30

"Oh, indeed, nothing will stop me."

When she came home,

he had it already finished,

another canoe made from a good cedar log.

[ii] [Digging Stick]

One day she said, 35
 My digging stick is becoming worthless.
 'Go split that head end.'
 He understood her to say,
 'Go split your face'.
 She should have said, 40
 'Go split that head end of a spruce limb'.^o
 'All right,'
 he told her,
 'I can do that.
 He went. 45

 Presently he returned with his head all wrapped up.
 She noticed,
 'Your head is all wrapped up.
 'What for?'
 He replied, 50
 'Oh, I nearly died.
 'You told me to go split my face.'

 She scolded,
 'No! I told you to hunt up spruce limbs,
 split one, 55
 and make a root digger for me.'
 'Why, you did not tell me that, sister.
 'You told me to split my face.'
 She told him,
 'You should have known that I did not mean that.' 60

 He went,
 obtained a spruce limb,
 brought it home,
 he made a root digger for her.
 That was all right then, 65
 he had done it right.

^o 'head end' not followed by anything else led him to understand
 that she meant 'of yours'.

[iii] [Whale meat]

One morning she sent him,
 "You go along.
 "Some people are going to buy whale meat,
 "You go with them. 70
 "In some manner you can fasten yourself in the stern of the canoe.
 "If the boat is crowded,
 "you can hang on to the stern."
 "All right, sister."
 She gave him some dentalia. 75
 "Maybe you can take these money beads,
 "and remember,
 throw your money beads on any old woman's privates".
 [By that expression the native would understand,
 "Buy whale meat from anyone 80
 who gives you a good trade.
 "Do not just trade with some special one."]

 They went in that canoe.
 Those people were paddling along.
 They noticed that the stern of the canoe seemed to drag. 85
 They looked,
 there he was in the water, hanging on to the canoe.
 They said,
 "Oh, I suppose your sister told you to do that.
 "Get into the canoe." 90
 He got in.

 When they got there where that whale was,
 Split-His-Own-Head did not attempt to buy any.
 He just stood about watching the old women.
 One went outdoors, 95
 he followed her.
 He watched her squat down,
 he sneaked up close to her
 and threw those money beads between her legs.
 "Why did you throw your money 100
 "where I would urinate on it?"
 she asked.

He replied,

"I came to buy whale meat."

"Oh, I suppose your sister told you to do it that way."

105

After that he bought whale meat
and they all went home.

[iv] [Dried Salmon]

His sister gave him a dried salmon,

saying,

"We are nearly out of dried salmon now."

110

She did not tell him not to eat it all at once.

But she said,

"Today you will throw rocks at the sun all day."

[By that was meant,

"Do not eat it all at once,

115

"save some for your supper."]

He was gone all day.

In the evening he returned,

saying,

"Goodness, I am all sore and lame."

120

"Why?"

she asked.

"Where are you so sore?"

"My arm is almost worn out

from throwing rocks at the sun all day,

125

like you said."

She told him,

"You are very foolish.

"I did not tell you to throw rocks,

"I told you to save some fish for summer

130

"because we have not very much left to eat."

[v] [Whale meat]

Again some people were preparing to go buy whale meat.

She told him,

"You can sit on a mat or blanket on the floor of the canoe."

He answered,

"I can certainly do that."

135

People got in the canoe,

they sat down to paddle.

They sat on him,

they did not see him

140

because he was under those ferns that were in the canoe to sit on.

He became tired.

He grunted

and attempted to change position.

The people said,

145

"Why, it feels as if someone were underneath us."

They looked,

there he was.

"Oh get up!

"Sit up and help paddle!

150

"I suppose your sister told you to do that!"

"Yes, she told me,"

the little fool answered.

They arrived at that [market] place.

They all purchased some whale meat

155

and returned home.

[vi-1] [Dead woman]

Later on his sister said to him,

"You are getting grown now,

"you should hunt a woman for yourself. 160

"You are old enough to get married.

"Any old a thing, a dead person, is perhaps better than no wife at all."

"Huh! I can do that all right, sister."

He went to look for a wife.

He returned late at night. 165

His sister was already in bed

and did not see him.

Presently she heard him say,

"Oh! My wife is sticking me with her scratcher."^b

His sister thought, 170

"Why, he must have found a maiden bathing after her first menstruation."

Daylight came.

The sister arose

and built the fire.

Split-His-Own-Head got up, 175

he had no wife.

"Where is your wife?"

his sister asked.

"In bed."

"Is she not going to get up?" 180

He told her,

"No. You told me to obtain a dead person for a wife.

"That is a dead women I went and got."

She said to him,

"Now you take that dead body 185

"and put it right back where you found it."

He took it back.

^b During her first mensis ceremonial period a girl used a body scratcher.

[vi-2] [old woman]

Then she said to him,

"I told you to get a live person.

"I meant to marry a live person, 190

"no matter if she were old".

"All right, sister."

He took that body

and went.

That evening he brought home an old, old woman with a walking cane, 195
nearly blind,

who could scarcely stand.

His sister objected,

"Why, that old woman might drop dead any minute!

"What are you going to do with her? 200

"An old woman ready to die!

"You go take her home."

He made preparations to take the old woman home.

[vi(3)] [baby]

His sister emphasized,

"Young! Young! 205

"A young girl, a youngster,

"that is what you want to get for yourself."

"All right, sister, I can do that."

He went.

He waited till late at night. 210

Then he went

and stole a woman's baby.

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Mrs. Peter's Bluejay Story:

Narrative Modes

Toby C. S. Langen

I

Leon Metcalf recorded two versions of the Bluejay Story from Susan Sampson Peter, the first in April of 1951 and the second in March of 1954. The versions are very different, and so far only one of them has been printed in translation -- the 1951 version, which bears the title "Nobility at Utsaladdy" in Vi Hilbert's collection Huboo (1980:62-78). In the catalogue of his collection made when the tapes were donated to the Burke Museum, Metcalf annotated the listings for Reels 3 and 4, on which the 1951 version is recorded, as follows:

Reel #3 4-6-1951 SSP Artist. (Wildcat & Chief's Daughter). Bluejay story, setting at Utsalady. Told by Mrs. Susie Sampson Peter. Recorded at Swinomish Village on this date.
- Metcalf[.] The conclusion is on the record of Mrs. Purdy's following the LOUSE STORY.

51

Reel #4 4-6-1951 3 3/4 [lips]. Songs by Mrs. Purdy.
Story in Twano - Blue Jay & Seal
Race. Story in Twano - Louse
Sweeping. Conclusion of Bluejay
Story by Mrs. Susie Sampson Peter.
Recorded at Swinomish Village
April 1951.

These annotations illuminate Metcalf's practice of using up blank portions of partially recorded reels rather than devoting fresh reels to each session. Although Reel 4 shares the date April 6, 1951, with Reel 3, it is evident that the session with Mrs. Purdy (Reel 4, side 1) took place before the recording of Reel 3 and of Mrs. Peter's section of Reel 4.

At some point in the '70s, the staff of the Burke Museum made cassette copies of all the reel-to-reel recordings. From that time on, working copies of Metcalf-collection material requested by members of the public were made, not from the reels, which had become too fragile for the purpose, but from the cassettes. Reels 3 and 4 were reproduced on three cassettes. Cassette 3a bears the label: "Bluejay story: Susie Sampson Peter (continued on tape #3b)"; 3b is labelled "Bluejay Story:" Susie Sampson Peter (End)"; and 4 is labelled "Songs by Mrs. Purdy. Stories in Twano [...] 22 min." In fact, cassette 3a contains two full sides of the Bluejay story, though the second-side label is blank; 3b contains about one minute of Mrs. Peter's

narration, the rest of side 1 and all of side 2 being blank; and 4 contains Mrs. Purdy's songs and stories and then goes on the with conclusion of the Bluejay story, all on side 1, while side 2 is blank. If a member of the public requests a recording of the Bluejay story as listed in Metcalf's catalogue on reels 3 and 4, the Museum might well, in keeping with its own labeling, provide copies of cassettes 3a and 3b, inadvertently omitting the end of the story. In response to a request for copies of Reels 3 and 4, the first sides only of cassettes 3a, 3b and 4 might be provided, with the result that the middle of the story would be omitted.

The process of making cassette copies of the reel-to-reel tapes introduced a lot of hiss and roar; in addition, the original reels already contained background noise, machine noise, fading and reverberation. In the mid-'80s, friends of the Burke Museum embarked on the project of remastering the old reels, not only for archival purposes, but also in order to produce the best possible sound with the modern recording facilities now available at the University of Washington. Because Vi Hilbert expressly wanted to obtain a clean recording of Reels 3 and 4 for a new project of her own, these reels were among the first remastered.

In listening to the new master tapes, Mrs. Hilbert made an important discovery, which is reflected in the fact that "Nobility at Utsaladdy," her 1980 version, is approximately 780 lines long in lineated transcription, whereas her

revised version (1987) runs 1369 lines and has a new title: "Grandchildren of Magpie."¹

The lacuna of approximately 589 lines in "Nobility at Utsaladdy" begins when the story is interrupted -- Mary Willup, who is listening to Mrs. Peter, says, "Wait a minute," because Leon Metcalf needs to change the reel -- and ends where Burke Museum cassette 4 takes up the story again. Mrs. Peter is interrupted in the midst of a section of narrative made up of repeated pattern-episodes involving hunting, and cassette 4 takes up the narrative near the beginning of another stretch of repeated episodes employing a different pattern, but also involving hunting. The omitted material corresponds closely to what is on Museum cassettes 3a, side 2, and 3b.

As far as "Nobility at Utsaladdy" goes, the lacuna is signaled by no obvious break in content. The only clue -- and it is visible mostly to hindsight -- is the abrupt reintroduction into the story of Bobcat's young brother-in-law in what we now know is the second line of narrative after the end of the lacuna. But this is a story famous for its prologue featuring Bluejay, who is abruptly dropped from the main plot at one point and then just as abruptly reintroduced much later: the treatment of Bobcat's brother-in-law's reappearance was felt to be stylistically in keeping with the treatment of Bluejay's reappearance.

Those of us who over the years have admired "Nobility at Utsaladdy" have been interested to note about ourselves

that we had no trouble in accepting as complete a story that was in fact missing 43 per cent of its text. In fact, our first response to Mrs. Hilbert's discovery was a suspicion that, perhaps unsettled by the reel change, Mrs. Peter had recapitulated episodes already told, in the manner documented for Peter Seymour in Anthony Mattina's edition of The Golden Woman (1985). A cursory run-through of the new master tape seemed to indicate an abundance -- perhaps even a surfeit -- of episodes in which Bobcat goes out after game, kills it, guts it, packs it home, roasts it, etc. But a formal analysis of the narrative shows that, while her present-day audience may lose its way among these episodes, Mrs. Peter did not. What we learn from "Grandchildren of Magpie" is that sets of pattern-episodes may be managed in such a way as to delineate the progress of relationships or of psychological states and that to seek only contributions to plot from parallel narrative passages is a mistake.

II

"Grandchildren of Magpie" consists of a prologue followed by a narrative in three parts. The prologue tells how Bluejay², despised as a foolish chatterbox, manages by her very chatter to save the high-ranking people of Utsalady from being taken as slaves by marauding Yakima warriors. At the prologue's beginning, Magpie, her grandson Bobcat, and Bluejay are all identified as of high rank; and a set of four parallel lines equates Bluejay's incessant talking with Bobcat's activity as a hunter -- an unlikely parallel, but

one which we come to understand. Magpie, who has been after Bluejay to quiet down, apologizes at the end for having misjudged her; and Bluejay's new power song is the sound of a dog barking, which is what she uttered from the treetops to scare away the Yakimas.³ The tone of this little story is light-hearted; in fact, the prologue is a burlesque of a certain genre of stories about spirit power. However, its message -- that a person who seems of no account may turn out of be someone of consequence -- is serious: it is the message in light of which we understand the longer narrative that follows.

The second part of "Grandchildren of Magpie" is the story of how Bobcat by supernatural means arranges for the well-brought-up daughter of the leading family at Utsalady to have his child out of wedlock; how the baby cries out, "That's my Daddy" when it catches sight of Bobcat; and how the young family is abandoned, as the girl's father decides to leave the cause of his shame behind and found another village further along the coast.

The prologue casts a strong light over this second part of the story: Bobcat, famous as a hunter, is for some reason pretending to be sick: covered with unsightly sores and seemingly too frail to hunt any longer, he is inviting the people of Utsalady to make about him the same mistake they made about Bluejay. Only two people in the entire village give Bobcat any respect -- his grandmother, Magpie,

who has learned her lesson in the prologue, and the youngest (and smartest) of Bobcat's in-laws-by-default:

tilə b ʔucutəb ʔə tiʔəʔ ʔiʔtisu bədaʔs,

Quickly, his youngest son spoke up:

ʔwul d=əʔ ʔu ʔ(u)asʔəl tə cədiʔ.

"Is this man always going to be sick?

tud=alalcut tə ʔaciʔtalbixʷ.

After all, people have turned themselves
around:

diʔ səsʔəls gʷəl bəʔkubil.

There is a time when they are sick, and then
things get better again.

[] kʷ(i) ad(d)əxʷəsd=ilid.

[Is that any] reason to condemn someone?"

cutəb ʔə tiʔəʔ bədaʔs ʔiʔtisu.

This is what was said by his youngest son.⁴

The importance of this speech to the story is signaled by the circular figure in which it is presented (and by the fact that Bobcat himself repeats part of this speech later on.) Since wisdom and forbearance are components of the quality known as siʔab, it is remarkable to find only two people at Utsalady, where all of the households are reputedly siʔab, who actually demonstrate the possession of these virtues. In fact, there is little to choose between the behavior of Raven, a parvenu who tries to claim paternity of the baby in order to advance his own fortunes,

and that of the baby's maternal grandfather, the leading citizen of the village: both are portrayed as irascible buffoons.

The prologue, then, stands as a gloss to the second part of the story. It is a vehicle for theme, while the second part of the story is devoted to the service of plot. In terms of the story as a whole, the events of the prologue are functional less in reference to themselves than in reference to the events in the second part. We may call this mode of narration allegorical, in that it operates only as constituents of the prologue are matched up with corresponding constituents of the second part and the resulting pairs translated in relation to each other. In terms of the story so far, the events of the second part have thematic valency as parts of allegorical pairs; but on the level of plot, their function is to move the characters who are really the subject of the story (as Bluejay, the heroine of the prologue, is not) into position so that whatever is going to happen may go ahead and happen. In terms of plot, the narrated events are meant to imitate actually occurring events, events that must actually take place if the story is to continue on track. This mode of narration we may call mimetic.

Although the second part of the story is, like the prologue, highly amusing -- it contains a farcical set piece in Raven's audience with the new mother's family, and Mrs. Peter employs various comic vocal effects (the tremolo

delivery of lines about how weak Bobcat is, the nasality of Raven's expressions of hauteur) -- it is not like the prologue a burlesque. For one thing, we know of the people of Utsalady that they are in the process of making a mistake for the second time, so that the narration of the events contains latent criticism of the actors. For another thing, the presentation of character is more complex. From the start, we know that Bobcat is only pretending illness, and this circumstance makes his position a foil to, rather than a replica of, Bluejay's: Bobcat, offering a false pretense of illness, is believed and his former competence forgotten, whereas Bluejay's valid claims to competence were not accepted and her habitual silliness was insisted upon as defining her.

Why Bobcat should pretend illness is an interesting question. The answer at one level is that he wants to see what people will do. "You all know me," he says, enjoying the fact that all the girl's family can understand about him is that he looks like a scabby derelict. But why he needs to test people this way is not a question that is answered at this point.

The work of this second section also includes the presentation of Bobcat in relation to his future wife. In subverting the forms in which spirit power usually manifests itself, Bobcat's behavior presents a contrast with that of his future wife and sets up the probability of future conflict. Like all of Mrs. Peter's heroines, this young

woman is a prodigious worker, and the lines introducing her are full of references to the things she makes. Usually, Mrs. Peter's introductions of such characters are in the form of ornamented circular figures, with statements about the woman surrounding lists of what she makes. In "Grandchildren of Magpie," however, the woman is introduced twice: once before her pregnancy and once after. The first introduction begins in the customary way with a few lines about the woman and the clothing she makes. When Mrs. Peter gets to "leggings," which are worn by people going into the brush, especially hunters, she switches to the subject of Bobcat, a hunter who has leggings but no longer uses them. This transition-by-association forestalls the completion of the circular figure and would, I think, have been recognized by Mrs. Peter's audience as unusual.

After the circumstances of the young woman's becoming pregnant are narrated, she is introduced again, this time with a completed circular figure that is itself enclosed within references to her pregnancy, the whole forming an annular structure:

huy d=id=ihi?əx~ tsi?ə? sɬadəy?.

This woman is now pregnant.

huy, (lə)cuqitcut.°

This woman now finds herself in trouble.

huy, qitcutəx~ tsi?ə? ʔič dx~qaləp.

This unmarried woman of good family now finds
herself in trouble.

qaləp sɬadəy?

An unmarried woman.

(dxʷ)syayus.

A real worker.

huyud tiʔəʔ ʃəsgʷiɬəʔ ...

She made goat-hair blankets ...

[a list of items]

bəkʷ stab syayuss.

She could do just about everything.

huyud [...]

She made [another list of items]

hikʷ dxʷsyayus sɬadəyʔ.

A very hard-working woman,

ʔu, bəkʷ stab syayus.

yes; she could do just about everything.

xʷiʔ gʷəgʷat gʷ(ə)uʃudxʷ.

There was no one who ever saw her.

diɬ kʷi dʷidʷihiʔs

Yet somehow she is pregnant.

That she is a virtuous person whose troubles are not her fault is conveyed not only by statements, but by the form in which the statements are produced. Not only do we see here an annular structure, itself an ornament (by reduplication) of the circular figure, but at its close the structure is ornamented further by an additional overlapping circular figure.◀

A third character with whom Bobcat is set in significant relation is Raven, who dresses up (but not, like Bobcat, in sores), claims the baby (Bobcat: "I have not claimed this child.") and is rejected by the infant (who recognizes Bobcat as its father). Despite his unacceptable behavior, Raven is included in their party by the people who reject Bobcat (mainly because of his appearance, it seems, and not so much because of his misdeed). Raven's canoe, in fact, is the first to leave, a circumstance that Bobcat notes and that launches a subplot.

At the end of Part II, the characters are poised in the following relations to each other:

	A.	B.	C.
<u>character</u>	<u>is si?ab</u>	<u>presents as si?ab</u>	<u>accepted as si?ab</u>
Bluejay*	yes	yes	yes
Magpie	yes	yes	no
Bobcat	yes	no	no
wife	yes	yes	no
Raven	no	yes	yes
father- in-law	no	yes	yes

*Boldface type indicates
"on Bobcat's side."

Obviously, what is going to happen by the end of the story is some change in this network of relations, so that each character's "C" is brought into harmony with its "A"; at

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the moment, only Bluejay's storyline is resolved. The harmonizing of C and A is the task of Part IV of the narrative. Before this happens, however, we would expect to see more characters enlisted on Bobcat's side, so that the resolution can be brought about believably and without acrimony. This is the task of Part III.

Part III is introduced by a bridge passage stating that the people who went away with Bobcat's father-in-law built a new village at čubəʔalśəd and that time passed. The people of čubəʔalśəd are described as eating flounder, crab, clams and mussels -- the same food they had at Utsalady. The information about food at Utsalady is given just after it is first said that Bobcat is "sick":

[Description of Bobcat's pretended sickness].

gʷəl ʔa tsiʔəʔ kiaʔs ləcuʔaʃʷuʔb.

And there his grandmother would be, clamming.

ʔaʃʷuʔ tiʔiʔəʔ; ʃuʔaʃʷuʔb.

These people went clamming; they would gather
clams.

ʃuʔukagwič ʔə tiʔəʔ ʔuaʔ kʷi bəsqʷ.

They would spear flounder, perhaps crab.

[Bobcat begins thinking about the young woman].

Vi Hilbert believes that it is because Bobcat is sick that his old grandmother has to go out after her own food. If this is so, possibly the passage is also telling us that

the people have only bottomfish and shellfish because their hunter is sick. (However, nothing is said at this point about this diet's being a hardship, and we must not forget that women characters of whom Mrs. Peter has a favorable opinion are ususally mentioned in connection with the work they do.) At any rate, this catalogue of flounder, crab, clams and mussels reappears throughout the story in all the bridge passages, and in these passages it is always said that the people go hungry on this diet.

In the bridge between Parts II and III, it is said that the weather is often bad, and when the wind blows the people can get only mussels. This time, the information about food is given in the form of a circular figure whose core contains a picture of Bobcat's wife back at Utsalady weaving sails. Evidently Bobcat can go fishing for halibut and salmon, while the young men of Čubə?alšəd for some reason cannot. The reference to sails is somewhat puzzling, as Bobcat's fishing is not mentioned again. But the convention for bridge passages is now established: things go increasingly ill for Čubə?alšəd; increasingly better for Utsalady.

Like the bridge that precedes it, Part III has as one of its functions the summarizing of the passage of time. Bobcat goes hunting on five occasions, bringing back game that is more and more choice. The hunting sequences are told in parallel, so that there is much motif-for-motif repetition. This trope -- repeated hunting with increasing

success -- is often used in Skagit literature to convey someone's growing up or strengthening over time. The trope may be slightly dramatized by the inclusion of snatches of dialogue (Cf. Mrs. Peter's Starchild story in Hilbert 1980:44-45), or it may be made fully scenic, as in "Grandchildren of Magpie," where each repeated detail -- how the game drops at the feet of the hunter, how he always finds four raccoons -- delineates Bobcat's power. The five hunting sequences have practically no plot function at all: it is not news to Mrs. Peter's audience that Bobcat's illness is a pretense; we have known it all along. It is news to Bobcat's wife, but she is not present on these expeditions.

Each hunting sequence is introduced with a short scene between Bobcat and his wife, and each is followed by a longer scene of the same kind. It is in the tracking of these changing interactions that the work of Part III of the story is done.

In these framing scenes, Mrs. Peter makes use of an image employed the world over to represent the relationship between the sexes: fire. The image has already been introduced in Part II, as it is the young woman's unwitting use of Bobcat's fire drill that has made her pregnant. At the beginning of the first episode in Part III, Bobcat gets firewood. He keeps the fire going all night, lying away from his wife on the other side of the hearth, able to keep warm only on one side at a time. (He has given his blanket

to his wife.) Because they sleep apart, the woman does not waken when Bobcat leaves to go hunting. While he bags a deer and four raccoons, she sleeps on. "Then," Mrs. Peter says, "She woke up. The fire was out." In the scene that follows, Mrs. Peter demonstrates to what extent the fire is out: the young woman looks off into the distance and sees a man running toward her, appearing and disappearing as he crosses hills and valleys. Suddenly, her husband arrives. The young woman warns him about the distant runner, who she thinks may be from a hostile tribe. "It was me," Bobcat says. Like her father, the young woman does not know Bobcat well enough to recognize his power when she sees him: figuratively and literally, the fire is out. "Do you have a fire going?" says Bobcat, having brought dinner. "No," she replies irritably. "I was busy keeping an eye on that runner." As she perceives that he is not sick after all, she wonders why he embarked on the pretense that has brought them such trouble. She grows angry, but says nothing.

The next episode begins as Bobcat tosses and turns again, trying to keep warm. (His wife now has a raccoon blanket.) As he leaves to go hunting, his parting words to the woman are: "You build your fire and eat." But, as Vi Hilbert points out in a note to her transcription, he says this in an unusual way, as if drawing a contrast between his being out in the cold and her having a fire: *ʔiɬhudičup ʔaxʷa ʔuʔəɬəð* [partitive (*ʔiɬ*) + firewood (*hudičup*) and you (*ʔaxʷa*) eat (*ʔuʔəɬəð*)]. In addition, he still uses his fake

feeble voice when talking to her, though he knows she cannot any longer accept this evidence of illness as valid. He is giving her more of a chance than he gave her father to see through the false evidence of his illness.

The second day's hunting yields two deer and four raccoons. This time, Bobcat's wife offers to help carry the game so he won't have to make so many trips; and, by the time the second deer is brought, she has a fire going. This evening after dinner, they both build fires to dry the surplus meat and the hides.

The third episode again sees Bobcat tossing and turning. (His wife has two raccoon blankets.) Before he leaves, he again addresses his wife, again using the partitive: "For your part, you just get up and make a fire and eat (x^uul čəx^w ʔiŋg^wədil čəx^wa hudičup, cəx^wa ʔuʔələd). On this third time out, he gets a bear and four raccoons, and by the time he arrives home, his wife has the fire going. Mrs. Peter explains the significance of this fire:

ləshudičup tsiʔəʔ čəg^wass. [pause]

His wife has a fire going.

haʔʔ.

Much improved,

haʔʔəx^w tə xəč ʔə tsiʔəʔ.

This woman's mood is much improved.

haʔʔəx^w.

Much improved now. [pause]

ʔaʔəd tiʔəʔ spaac.

He laid down the bear.

After dinner, they butcher the game and prepare the hides. Their work requires that they have several fires going now: ʔəshudhudičup (the reduplication signifying "many"). At this point, his wife invites Bobcat to sleep in the bed.

On the fourth morning, Bobcat says nothing about "your fire" to his wife, instead consulting with her about his plans. This signals the end of the use of fire as an emblem for their relationship, but it is not the end of Mrs. Peter's interest in the image. When Bobcat returns from the fourth day's hunting, he asks his wife to take food to her family. But, since her family has gone away, they are not there to be fed: she is to take the bony and gristly parts of the previously butchered animals and pile them around the cold hearths of her family's abandoned houses. The image of fire is now being expanded to include messages about the couple's relationship to the people of Čubəʔalšəd.

When, shortly after this, Magpie flies in for a visit, she locates Bobcat's house by the smoke from his fires. She looks down and sees all the backs, necks and heads of the game piled around the hearths of the roofless houses, and she is reminded how hungry the people of Čubəʔalšəd are on their diet of flounder and shellfish. The image has not so much traveled from its original meaning of goodwill between spouses as it has accumulated the additional connotation of

material prosperity. In Lushootseed culture, prosperity is hard to achieve if the spouses do not work together.

The idea of fire has not been the only vehicle of the concept of warmth in these first episodes. Bobcat has been cold because he has given his blanket to his wife; the raccoon and bear skins have been used to make blankets for her and their son. But, as the symbol of fire expands its reference beyond the couple, so does the notion of blankets. Bobcat's quarry on the fifth day is mountain goats, and he is hunting now no longer for food, but expressly for blanket-making material. Bobcat's first dinner with his wife was raccoon meat, but now he kills raccoon so that she can put fur borders on her goat-wool blankets. She weaves many of these, just as if she were preparing for a potlatch. Blankets are in real life both bedding and prestige goods, so the variation in their significance between these two referents in the story cannot be called symbolic. Yet in the formal plan of each episode, blankets and fire perform the same amount of work in forwarding the story. The mode of narration that employs both blankets and fire in the ways described cannot be said to be either allegorical or mimetic, because it is both and something larger than both.

When one image is used in a prismatic way, we call it a symbol. But when entire blocs of narrative containing many images and motifs are themselves used prismatically, we must speak of emblematic narration -- in this case, emblematic parallelism. Each episode in Part III stands in a relation

of parallelism to each other, the parallelism more exact in the hunting sequences, less exact in the framing scenes. The formalism of the parallel narration signals to us that the events narrated are not significant literally, but rather in their relation to each other -- that is, figuratively. The interruptions of parallelism signal a closer correspondence between literal and figurative. Each episode, then, includes both mimetic and allegorical components; but, while narrative in both of these modes requires a 1:1 density of reference (narrated action to real-life action or literal meaning to figurative meaning), the emblematic mode plays over a richer field of reference.⁷

The parallelism here holds together two different directions of story: the first three episodes chronicle the wife's reconciliation with her husband; the last two delineate the growth of Bobcat's wish to stand well in the community again. (In terms of the table above, both Bobcat and his wife are now "on his side.") Perhaps there is a cause-and-effect relationship between the first three and the last two episodes, but this is for the audience to infer. The emblematic quality of a stretch of narrative is established cumulatively: since the lacuna in "Nobility at Utsalady" begins just after the second hunting sequence in Part III (most of the last framing scene of the second episode is omitted, along with all of episodes three through five, all of the bridge between Parts III and IV and the beginning of Part IV), there was no chance in that version

for the narrative of Part III to establish itself as emblematic in distinction from Parts II and IV, which are mimetic and allegorical.²

The bridge between Parts III and IV is dramatized, and it is foregrounded in an interlace with the barely suggested on-going hunting of Bobcat. The bridge passage tells how Magpie flew to visit her family, how she noted the evidence of their prosperity, how she had to wait until Bobcat returned from hunting, and how she flew home with enough food for everyone. The scene shifts to Bobcat, who plans a lethal surprise for Raven and then leaves to go hunting again. Now Magpie persuades the people of Čubəʔalśəd to come back with her to Utsalady. Raven gets there first, eats what has been set out for him, and dies. As the canoes bearing the rest of the people arrive, Raven's body is seen floating away. Bobcat is still offstage, hunting.

This bridge leading out of Part III is in several ways symmetrical with the one leading in, not only because the earlier passage narrates a journey away from Utsalady and the later one, a return. We remember a puzzling reference to cattail-mat sails in the earlier passage, set in the midst of a circular figure and associated with Magpie's frame of mind and with the scarcity of food (the pattern is food -- sails -- Magpie's sadness -- food); and we find cattail-mat sails included in the later passage, also set into a circular figure, again associated with food and with Magpie's frame of mind: Magpie's mind is strong -- she

harangues her in-laws, saying that Bobcat has so much food that he uses only the choicest bits and that he has lots of new sails; she orders cattail mats (now surely an emblem) fetched so the food from Utsalady can be laid out -- her mind is strong now, and she no longer fears her in-laws.

The bridge passage between III and IV also recapitulates several motifs from the end of II: as Raven was the first to leave, so he is the first to return; as Magpie was told, "You might be killed" if she did not leave her grandson, now as she goes to find Bobcat, she counsels the people of Čubəʔalšəð to stay inside: "You might get killed"; as Magpie once fed Bobcat, now he feeds her; as Bobcat's wife was given no blankets when she went to live with him, so now the couple use prized goat-wool blankets as ordinary bedding. There is a sense in this part of the story of a balance's being righted; to accomplish this function, a 1:1 reference-density is employed, and we recognize the allegorical mode.

But the bridge passage also includes the culmination of the emblematic handling of fire (Magpie's sighting of smoke) and the making emblematic of the differences between the diets of Utsalady and Čubəʔalšəð, which has only been handled allegorically up to now. Since both villages are on the salt water, why is it that Bobcat and his family eat only game? (How is it that he can get mountain goat on Whidbey Island at all?) Why is a diet of flounder and shellfish so despised? I have suggested elsewhere (Langen

1986) that, though Mrs. Peter had family in both Skagit delta villages and upriver, she identified herself as an upriver person. Change came more slowly to people living away from the salt water, and some upriver people in Mrs. Peter's lifetime came to think of themselves as more conservative of old ways, more truly "Skagit," than saltwater people. Some people from the salt water, on the other hand, held upriver persons in low esteem. [Both attitudes are reflected in John Fornsby's "autobiography (Collins 1949; see especially pp. 302-303).] What, then, does it mean in a story told by Mrs. Peter that the imperfectly si?ab people formerly of old Utsalady, having been chastened on a diet of seafood, are now being rehabilitated on an upriver diet?

One of the rigors of hunting in the mountains is the need to get the food back to the hunter's house from the place where it is killed. Part of the hunter's spiritual gift is the strength to carry game. In Part III, we have seen Bobcat making many trips back and forth to bring his kill home: he is, of course, the only man around to carry it. This feature of an upriver diet is precisely the thing that Bobcat seizes on to work out the confrontation with his returning in-laws: he will use the fact that people need strength to secure an upriver diet as a way of turning his feeding of his in-laws into their punishment.

In Part IV, Bobcat feeds the people five times. The first feast, when he cooks for them, is the occasion of much

acrimony: Bobcat's youngest (and smartest) brother-in-law sarcastically invites his family to partake of food provided by the one with sores all over his body; Bobcat's wife and her mother fight over the baby ("Why are you picking up that child? Don't you know that his father is covered with sores?"); and Bobcat and his wife also argue ("They're going to say I turned you against your parents."). This first feast, then, is graphically realistic: the mode is mimetic.

The other four feasts are told in parallel: each day, Bobcat kills ten elk and leaves them where they have fallen. The young brother-in-law then invites the people to eat, only they must go up into the mountains, butcher the game and pack it down. On the first day, they are so stiff they cannot straighten up; on the second, they are so exhausted that they leave parts of the game behind. So far, this is pure allegory. But on the evening of the third day, the part of the pattern usually devoted to the exhaustion of Bobcat's "guests" is devoted instead to a dramatized argument between Bobcat and his wife, as she refuses to help him sing his spirit power in a setting that includes her family. On the evening of the fourth day, Bobcat calls on his young brother-in-law to listen to the song, and this is how the story ends. He sings:

ds?i1010d t0 dsq0l1alitut

My food is my spirit power

We cannot help wondering whether by "food" he means specifically "game," which his power has made him strong enough to carry overland, in contrast to his spiritually weaker fish-eating in-laws. Mrs. Peter announces that in her opinion, Bobcat is not singing his real song, but is mocking his in-laws. We notice, too, the use again of the partitive (?it) and wonder if the construction conveys a rift not only between Bobcat and his in-laws, but also between Bobcat and his wife.

Certainly, we are in the presence of an emblem at the end of the story. Most stories that end with a once-despised member of a community now using his power to feed people and then singing his power are spirit-quest stories with happy endings. At some level behind "Grandchildren of Magpie" we see the familiar framework. But "Grandchildren of Magpie" does not end happily. The tensions, far from being resolved by Bobcat's success, are instead exacerbated. At the beginning of Part III, just after the young couple has been abandoned, Bobcat counsels his wife not to succumb to anger against her parents; but at the end of the story they are both vocal in their anger at having been treated badly. This is not the only story on the spirit-quest model in Mrs. Peter's repertoire that ends in acrimony: her version of the widely told "Cripple Legend" ends with the cured boy's family split apart. Possibly for Mrs. Peter in the 1950s the old story models had accumulated so much

ironic freight that they had become perforce emblems themselves.

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FOOTNOTES

¹The remastering was done under the direction of Laurel Sercombe, Ethnomusicology Archivist at the University of Washington School of Music.

²In "Grandchildren of Magpie," Bluejay has been rechristened "Steller's Jay," which is what she is in the bird books. It seems, however, an artificial name for a real person; and since she is famous (and infamous) in several West Coast literatures as "Bluejay," this paper will continue to refer to her under that name.

³A discussion of the prologue, its formal qualities and its relation to the story as a whole, may be found in Langen 1986.

⁴Transcription copyright by Vi Hilbert and Lushootshead Research, Inc.; used by permission. All quotations in this paper are from the Hilbert transcription. (The translation is my own, made in consultation with Mrs. Hilbert's gloss.) The passage quoted here corresponds to lines 191-197 in the 1987 version. Square brackets indicate that there is a problem with the transcription and that the translation is tentative. In constituting the line at issue here as a question, I follow the lead given by Mrs. Hilbert's translation.

⁵It is possible that Mrs. Peter is saying "q̇ičcut" (to keep things to oneself) here and that there is a pun on "q̇ič" (literally, "expensive") in the next line. Since unmarried

women of good family led secluded lives, it is possible that this line means, "She always kept to herself" ("lecu" indicating continuative aspect). This interpretation adds another ring to the annular figure (cf. the penultimate line of the passage quoted).

¶This introduction of Bobcat's future wife is very similar in form to Mrs. Peter's introduction of the Sockeye woman in "Sockeye Salmon in Baker River." See Langen (forthcoming) for a discussion.

7Most critics (e.g., Castle 1987) distinguish mimetic (literal) from allegorical and emblematic (figurative). But in terms of density of reference, it is the emblematic that must be distinguished from the other two modes.

8In the printed version of "Nobility at Utsalady" (Hilbert 1980) the lacuna occurs between the words "voice" and "Then" on page 73.

Some aesthetic features in a Coast Tsimshian text fragment

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1. Introduction. For the non-specialist ear the most salient characteristic of the authentic oral performance of Coast Tsimshian texts, after the exotic phonology, is their poetry. This paper explores some of the aesthetic dimensions of a text fragment from the William Beynon manuscript (1980).¹ One of the points of departure for this project is an oral performance interpretation based (1) on analogy to other texts for which there are aural records, and (2) on an interpretation of William Beynon's text diacritics.

Tsimshian tellers of stories work from memorized text models. Some rely heavily on these rote versions; others are able to be more spontaneous and creative in their elaboration of their memorized treasures. Certain parts of texts are intrinsically more important than others; certain parts of texts are especially significant to the personal experience of the individual story teller. For both these reasons particular story tellers have carefully elaborated and fashioned precise wordings for their focal passages. They have passed on their own poetic finishing to their successors. As a result of countless generations of poetic tradition and refinement, some parts of texts now exhibit the most remarkable and sophisticated aesthetic properties. This paper is about one such text fragment.

2. The text fragment. This section presents the text passage under discussion. It is from the text *Myth of the People of the Torch Lights* as told by Issac Tens of Hazelton and Mathew Sheppard of Port Simpson, recorded by William Beynon (1980, volume 1, number 6).

¹ The Beynon Manuscript contains of a number of glossed and interlinearly translated Coast Tsimshian texts that William Beynon collected in the 1920's and 1930's. Franz Boas trained William Beynon as a linguistic field worker. William Beynon was a native speaker of the Coast Tsimshian language. He sent the texts to Boas as he collected them. During World War II, the library at Columbia University received this collection of texts. In subsequent years it remained in the library archives, for the most part, unnoticed and forgotten. Michael Krauss rediscovered the manuscript in the late 1970's and convinced Columbia University to microfilm it. The 1980 date refers to the University of Columbia's microfilm copyright. The manuscript consists of more than 10,000 hand-written pages and contains some 250 different texts.

[p 1, line 2] [p 1, line 3]
 sām ḡax̣tka. wāl-a ḡzāḡzāḡzā gət 'at̩a ɕiwaa'a,²
 very hard how lived people at this time
 ... and were having a very hard time
 ... [who] were having a very hard time

[p 1, line 4]
 'aṭçət wəl-aɪ̯ ɔ̯əmt wəl-at ɕat hɔ̯n
 never knew will how spear salmon
 as the people did not know how to spear the salmon,
 for the people at this time did not know how to spear salmon.

ԺՅՈՒՆ ԺՅՁ ԻՅՈՒՆ
 altho plenty salmon
 altho there was plenty of salmon
 Although there was plenty of salmon

'ata'al tkok'sənt θəmt mak't
 but [can't do it] will catch
 the people did not know how to catch them
 the people did not know how to catch them

[p 1, line 5]
 'aθ-a ʔa-səm θaɪpkət 'aʃcə θəm θəm ɭa'aʃət.
 and very close to die for starvation
 and they were now nearly starved
 and they were now of the verge of starvation.

3. Stichometric Interpretation. Even in the absence of an aural record for this text fragment certain poetic properties are apparent. Let the term *stichometrics* refer to the study of these non-aural properties. The

² The text orthography is a *FONTastic™* simulation of William Beynon's handwriting. *FONTastic™* is a bitmap font editor for the Macintosh™. Altsys Corporation (720 Avenue F, Suite 108, Plano, Texas, 75047, (214) 424-4888) published *FONTastic™* in 1986. Although Beynon's orthography (which is partly phonetic and partly phonemic) conforms for the most part to technical orthographies in use in the early part of the twentieth century, nevertheless its transliteration into a modern phonetic orthography requires substantial interpretation that fundamentally affects the grammatical (especially phonological) analysis of these Tsimshian texts. Page and line numbers refer to the format of the original hand-written text rather than to any ethnopoetic interpretation. The second English translation is from a typewritten English version accompanying the original handwritten manuscript.

following stichometric interpretation of the text fragment conforms to the basic principles of ethnopoetic interpretation set out by Hymes (1976). Each line is a content-unit centering on a principal verb/predicate.

səm ɔ̌xʰkə. wəl-a ɔ̌ʒəɔ̌ʒə ʒet 'aʰa ʒiwa'a,
very hard how lived people at this time

'aʰʒət wəl-aɪʰ ɔ̌əmt wəl-at ʒaʰ hən
never knew will how spear salmon

ɔ̌ʒo 'al ɔ̌ʒə hən
altho plenty salmon

'aʰa'al ʰko-ksənt ɔ̌əmt mak't
but [can't do it] will catch

'aʰ-a ʰa-səm ɔ̌aɪpʰkət 'aʰʒə ɔ̌əm ɔ̌əm ʰa'aʒət.
and very close to die for starvation

The fragment constitutes a stanza in terms of content; it is set apart from the adjoining parts of the text. It is an insert into the description of the initial situation, an aside that describes the plight of humanity in the mythic time before the present salmon-food order:

It was at the headwaters of the Skeena:
here is where a people once lived,
a great chief and all his family.

The people of this time lived in great hardship
for they had never known how to spear salmon
and although there was salmon in abundance
yet they did not know how to catch it
and they were very close to starvation

The chief had a daughter
and he watched her closely
as to how she would marry . . .

This five line stanza has the line tag structure

...
...
...
ada
ada.³

It exhibits a rigidly symmetrical content parallelism with one enveloping structure nested in another:

A The people of this time lived in great hardship
 B for they had never known how to spear salmon
 -B',-A' and though there was salmon in abundance
 B yet they did not know how to catch it
 A' and they were very close to starvation

There is also a rigidly symmetrical thematic role/grammatical relation parallelism:⁴

agent subject (< D-structure object)	people
agent object + patient subject	people + salmon
theme subject	salmon
agent object + patient subject	people + salmon
agent subject (< D-structure object)	people.

4. Preliminaries to a strophometric interpretation. Let the term *strophometrics* refer to the study of those ethnopoetic features that only an aural record captures. Then the strophometric properties of Coast Tsimshian poetry include (1) hyper-prosodic (dramatic) lengthening of selected syllables, (2) pause, and (3) minor third cadence (Dunn 1986). Lines tend to have a constant, patterned, number of dramatically lengthened syllables, i.e., Coast Tsimshian poetry has stress prosody in which the syllable with dramatic length defines the metrical foot. Students of poetry have referred to this type of rhythm as accentual verse, skeltonic verse, or tumbling verse (Deutsch 1974:91). This is the metrical structure of Anglo-Saxon verse;

³See Dunn (1985) for a discussion of Coast Tsimshian line tags.

⁴ See section 4.1 of this paper for a discussion of these syntactic assumptions.

Modern English poets, including Scott and Coleridge, have also made use of accentual verse.

A performance interpretation or reconstruction of the Beynon manuscript text fragment, which is the leitmotif for this paper, must rest in an application of these strophometric properties as prototype. The dramatic lengthenings which define the metrical feet build on the ordinary prosodic, metrical phonological, structures of the language. The interpreter of this text fragment must therefore infer the presence of dramatic length in some principled way, building on ordinary phonological structure. But the metrical phonological structure itself must derive from syntactic structure, also in a principled way. As preliminaries, then, to the reconstruction of the performance of this text fragment, section 4.1 presents a set of provisional assumptions about the syntactic structure of the Beynon fragment, and section 4.2, building in a principled way on 4.1, presents a set of provisional assumptions about the fragment's ordinary metrical phonological structure.

Finally, the Beynon manuscript contains diacritic marks that are surely performance elements. Beynon marked some consonants as long where consonant length is not predictable; these probably indicate dramatic lengthening. He also used commas and periods in the phonetic orthography; these probably indicate pauses.

4.1 Syntactic characterization of the fragment. These assumptions inform the following GB⁵ syntactic characterization of the text fragment: (1) X-bar structures assign grammatical relations without reference to thematic or semantic roles: objects are complements to verbs, subjects are specifiers to INFL; (2) lexical structures assign thematic relations without reference to X-bar structures: the verb "spear" requires an agentive argument, etc.; (3) a particular language might canonically associate a particular grammatical relation with a particular thematic role: the Tsimshianic languages canonically associate theta-agent with the direct object; (4) Coast Tsimshian verbs c-select or subcategorize only for direct objects, not for oblique arguments; (5) Coast Tsimshian verbs s-select or assign thematic roles to oblique arguments in the same way that they s-select for subjects; i.e., oblique arguments are indirect subjects; (6) the prototypic X-bar structure for Coast Tsimshian is

[_{CP} [_{IP} [_{I'} tense [_{VP} verb [_{NP} object]]] [_{NP} subject] [_{CP} indirect subject]]].⁶

⁵ After Chomsky 1986.

⁶ See Dunn (1987;1988).

[_{IP}səm ɔ̃xɫkə. [_{CP}ʷəl-a [_{IP}[_{VP}ɔ̃ʒəɔ̃ʒə t₁] ʒɛt₁]]]
 very hard how lived people
with great difficulty is how the people lived

[_{IP}ʷəɫa ʒiʷəʷa. [_{CP}[_{IP}ʷəɫʒət ʷəl-aɪt pɾo₁ [_{CP}ɔ̃mət
 at this time never knew will

[_{IP}ʷəl-at₂ [_{IP}[_{VP}[_Vʒət hən] t₁] pɾo₁ t₂]]]]]
 how spear salmon
it was at this time that they did not know how to spear salmon

[_{CP}ɔ̃ʒo ʷəl [_{IP}[_Iɔ̃ʒə] hən]]
 altho plenty salmon
altho there was plenty of salmon

[_{CP}ʷəɫʷəl [_{IP}ɫkəksənt pɾo₁ [_{CP}ɔ̃mət [_{VP}makʷt pɾo₁] pɾo₁]]]
 but can't do it will catch
but they did not know how to catch them

[_{CP}ʷəɫ-a [_{IP}[_Iɫə-səm ɔ̃əɫpəkət] pɾo₁
 and very close

[_{CP}ʷəsʒə ɔ̃əm [_{IP}[_{VP}[_Vɔ̃əm laʷʒət.] pɾo₁]]]]]
 to die-of-starvation
and they were now of the verge of starvation

4.2 A metrical grid characterization of the fragment. Coast Tsimshian is a stress-timed language. Minimal, demi-beat prominence, with a value of 0 in the grid, attaches to all syllables. Syllables with prominence values greater than 0 mark the isochronic timing units. The leftmost basal syllable in each noun, verb, or adjective takes word stress or lexical prominence, 2 in the grid. In a phrasal grouping the rightmost syllable with lexical prominence takes the phrasal stress, 3 in the grid. Non-lexical words, i.e.,

COMP, INFL, or adverbial clitic elements, take beat level, minimal isochronic unit prominence, 1 in the grid, in such a way as to insure that no more than two consecutive syllables have 0 prominence.

3		*				*
2		*			*	*
1		*		*	*	*
0	*	*	*	**	*	*
	[_{IP} səm	ðax	ɬkə.	[_{CP} wəl-a	[_{IP} [_{VP} ðʒə	ðʒəʒə t ₁] gət ₁]]]
	very	hard		how	lived	people

3			*		*
2			*		*
1	*		*	*	*
0	**	*	**	*	*
	[_{IP} 'aɬa	ʒiwa 'a	[_{CP} [_{IP} 'aɬʒət	wəl-aiɬ	pro ₁ [_{CP} ðəmt
	at	this time	never	knew	will

3				*
2			*	*
1	*		*	*
0	*	*	*	*
	[_{IP}	wəl-at ₂	[_{IP} [_{VP} [_{VP} ʒaɬ	hən] t ₁] PRO ₁ t ₂]]]]]
		how	spear	salmon

3			*
2		*	*
1	*	*	*
0	*	*	*
	[_{CP} ðʒo 'al	[_{IP} [_{IP} ·ðʒə]	hən]]
	altho	plenty	salmon

3			*		*
2			*		*
1	*		*	*	*
0	***	*	*	*	*
	[_{CP}	'ata'al	[_{IP} ɬko-ksənt	pro ₁ [_{CP} ðəmt	[_{VP} mak't
	but		can't do it	will	catch

3				*
2				*
1			*	*
0	*	*	*	*
	[_{CP}	'aθ-a [_{IP}	l-a-səm	θaɪpkət] pro ₁
		and	very	close

3				*
2				*
1	*		*	*
0	*	*	*	*
	[_{CP}	'asçə θəm [_{IP}	vɪv θəm	la'açət.]] PRO ₁]]]
		to	die-of-starvation	

5. The poetic foot. Assign poetic prominence (P-level in the following grids), i.e., dramatic length, to every syllable that has beat-level (1) or greater prominence and to every syllable that Beynon marked with a long consonant. Note that [l-] is ambisyllabic; in each of its occurrences in the text it assigns P-level prominence to the syllable that already qualifies for dramatic length on other grounds.

P		P...../	P.../	P.../	P.../
3		*	[*]	[*]	*
2		*	[*]	*	*
1		*	*	*	*
0	*	*	*	*	*
	[_{IP} səm	ðax	lka. [_{CP} wa-l-a [_{IP}	vɪv θəçə	t ₁] ʒet ₁]]]
		very hard	how	lived	people

P		P..../	P.../	P..../	P..../
3		[*]	*	[*]	*
2		[*]	*	[*]	*
1		*	*	*	*
0	*	*	*	*	*
	[_{IP} 'a	l-a	çiwa'a [_{CP}	l-a	l-ai
	at	this time	never	knew	will

P		P...../	P..../
3		[*]	*
2		[*]	*
1		*	*
0	*	*	*
	[_{IP}	wa-l-at ₂ [_{IP}	vɪv vçat
		how	spear salmon

P		P.../	P..../
3		[*]	*
2		*	*
1		*	*
0	* *	*	*
	[_{CP} θ̌ʒo 'al [_{IP} [_I ·θ̌ʒə] hən]]		
	altho plenty salmon		

P	P.../	P..../		P..../
3	[*]	*		*
2	[*]	*		*
1	*	*		*
0	***	* *	*	*
	[_{CP} 'ata'al [_{IP} tko-ksənt pro ₁ [_{CP} θ̌əmt [_{VP} mak't pro ₁]PRO ₁]]]			
	but can't do it will catch			

P	P.../	P.../	P..../
3	[*]	[*]	*
2	[*]	[*]	*
1	[*]	*	*
0	* *	* *	* *
	[_{CP} 'aθ-a [_{IP} [_I · θ̌a-səm θ̌alpkət] pro ₁		
	and very close		

P	P.../	P.../	P.../
3	[*]	[*]	*
2	[*]	*	*
1	*	*	*
0	* * *	*	***
	[_{CP} 'aʒə θ̌əm [_{IP} [_{VP} θ̌əm la'aʒət.] PRO ₁]]]		
	to die-of-starvation		

6. Strophometric interpretation. The principle of accentual rhythm in combination with Beynon's pause diacritics suggests that this fragment consists of six poetic lines, the first three with four feet each and the second three with three feet each. A pause divides each line into two half-lines. Except for the fact that the third line now has two principal verbs, this revision confirms and enriches the fragment's stichometric features. Each new line (and all but one of the half-lines) is a major syntactic unit; there is still a definite line tag structure; the symmetrical, enveloping parallelism is intact.

^P ^P ^P ^P
 səm ɔ̌xłkə. wəl-a ɔ̌zəɔ̌zəzə ɡet
 very hard how lived people

^P ^P ^P ^P
 'ała ɕiwa 'a, 'ałɕət wəl-aɪt
 at this time not knowing

^P ^P ^P ^P
 ɔ̌mɪt wəl-at ɕaɪt hən ɔ̌zo 'al ɔ̌zə hən
 to how spear salmon though plenty salmon

^P ^P ^P
 'ata'al łko-ksənt ɔ̌mɪt mak't
 and not know to catch it

^P ^P ^P
 'aɔ̌-a ła-səm ɔ̌alɬkət
 and now very near (narrow)

^P ^P ^P
 'aɕə ɔ̌əm ɔ̌əm la'aɕət.
 to to death starvation

7. Ornamental consonance. This text fragment, in its revised poetic form, brings into focus a typical ornamental feature of Tsimshian poetry, a feature that has unusual richness and texture in this carefully refined passage. This ornamental feature or device is one part alliteration and another part end-rhyme. Yet it is neither. It is more than alliteration, the successive repetition of syllable onsets, because it is the successive repetition of onsets and parts of onsets along with syllable codas and parts of codas. It is less than rhyming, the successive repetition of syllable rimes (peaks plus codas), because the repetition often does not involve the syllable peaks. A general term that analysts of poetry use is "consonance," the successive repetition of consonantal material. In this sense of the term, the Tsimshian device includes initial consonance, both complete (succession of identical syllable onsets) and partial (succession of similar syllable onsets), and final consonance, both complete and partial. But it is still more, for it also includes occasional rhyming, both complete and partial. It is simply and generally the succession of phonetically similar (sometimes identical) phonetic units. Its roots lie in part in the extensive reduplicative or chameleon morphological structures, both inflectional and derivational, of the Tsimshian

it was hárd	hów the péople lived
in those óld dáys	they did nó't yet knów
hów to spear sálmon	though sálmon abóunded
no, they'd nó't fóund	how to catch físh
and thús	they were dráwn dówn
éven to the déath	of their stárving

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The Viability of the Notion of Subject
in
Coast Tsimshian (Sm'algyax)

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1. Introduction

The status of subject as a linguistic universal is commonly assumed. For example, the classification of the word order of a language as SVO, SOV, etc. presupposes the universal occurrence of subject; many language universals such as Mithun's (1984) hierarchy for noun incorporation are stated in terms of subject; and, some theories such as Relational Grammar take subject as a primitive.

However, it will be argued in this paper that this assumption is not correct in the case of a syntactically ergative language like Coast Tsimshian (Sm'algyax).¹ Specifically, in Section 2, I discuss the syntactic operations which operate on an ergative basis in Sm'algyax and, in Section 3, compare this language with other languages with varying degrees of syntactic ergativity such as Dyirbal, Yidin^y, Chukchee, and Yup'ik Eskimo. Then, in Section 4, I examine the definitions for subject proposed by Dixon (1979) and Schachter (1976, 1977) with respect to the ergative orientation of the syntax in Coast Tsimshian.

2. Syntactic Ergativity in Coast Tsimshian

In exploring ergativity from a syntactic viewpoint, we are making a decision as to whether a particular syntactic process is ergative (S treated in the same way as O), accusative (S treated like A), or neither ergative or accusative (S, A and O are all treated alike or are all treated differently). This involves considering several different types of syntactic evidence which do not necessarily all give the same result. For example, within a syntactic construction all aspects of the process function in terms of S and O in some languages, whereas in other languages only some aspects of the process may be ergative while others may be accusative and still others may be neither ergative or accusative. Thus, a language will be said to show syntactic ergativity if any aspect of a syntactic operation is ergative and the degree of syntactic ergativity is taken as dependent on the number and extent of the syntactic operations which treat the S like the O.

There are three constructions which provide evidence for syntactic ergativity in Coast Tsimshian: imperatives, topicalization and relativization. However, in each case, as is shown in the following sections, only some aspects of the process operate on an ergative basis. In contrast, the morphology of this language is predominately ergative in that the connective system which is roughly analogous to case marking, the pronominal system,² and person and number agreement on the verb are all highly ergative.

2.1 Imperatives

Imperatives, cross-linguistically, have a 2nd person pronoun as the stated or understood S or A who the speaker intends to get to perform an action. Thus, as Dixon (1979:112) states:

...the fact that S and A have the same possibilities of reference for the imperative constructions of some particular language (and the fact that, say, either can be deleted from surface structure) is no evidence at all for the placement of that language on a continuum of syntactic 'ergativity' vs. 'accusativity'. Even the

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most ergative language will treat S and A NPs of imperatives the same. This follows from the meaning of imperatives (addressee is told to be agent)...

In Sm'algyax, in addition to this universal S/A linkage, there is also one respect in which S and O are treated alike. In particular, in the main type of imperative construction the S and A must be 2nd person (the universal rule), but when the A is 2nd person singular it is always deleted whereas the S, like the O, is retained:³

- (1)a. Yüü duus. (E)⁴
hide cat
Hide the cat. (A = 2SG)
- b. Sm yüü duus. (E)
2PL hide cat
Hide the cat.
- (2)a. Liimi-n.
sing -2SG
S
Sing.
- b. Liimi-sm.
sing -2PL
S
Sing.
- (3)a. Łümoom-i.
help -1SG
O
Help me. (A = 2SG)
- b. Babuud-it.
wait -3
O
Wait for him. (A = 2SG)

In (1), the addressee is an A and where it is singular, as in (1a), it does not occur. When it is plural, as in (1b), though, it does occur and is marked with sm '2PL' which is part of the subjective dependent pronoun, m...sm '2PL'. Example (2) illustrates that when the addressee is an S it must occur. This is true whether it is singular, as in (2a), or plural, as in (2b). The obligatory presence of the S is like that of the O, as in (3a and b) where it is singular and plural, respectively.

In summary, Coast Tsimshian follows the universal rule of treating the S and A the same with respect to possibilities of reference for the imperative construction. However, with respect to deletion of the A in this construction, it is ergative.

2.2 Topicalization

Topicalization is a syntactic process that gives prominence to a particular NP within a sentence. The syntactic strategies for giving such prominence can be the same for an A, S or O (i.e., neither ergative or accusative), they can treat the S in the same way as an O (i.e., ergative), or they can treat the S in the same way as an A (i.e., accusative). The different strategies might distinguish between whether an A, S and O can all be topicalized, whether all types of NPs such as full NPs as well as pronominals can be topicalized, and how the different topicalized NPs are marked.

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In Coast Tsimshian, the relevant parameters for topicalization are what type of NP is given prominence, whether or not there is a topic marker, and the marking of the connectives and person agreement. With regard to the first parameter, full NPs, independent pronouns, and the sentence initial demonstrative pronoun *ni'nii* can all be topicalized regardless of whether they function as an A, S or O. For example, the full NP that is topicalized is an A in (4), an S in (5) and an O in (6).

- (4) 'Yagay 'wii gyisiyaasg-at in -t deen -tga
 instead great northwind -3 TOP-3 avenge-CN
 A A PRED
 Instead the great northwind avenged the little
- sga lgu alasg-m yetisk.
 -CN little weak -CN land
 PRED ADJ animal
 weak animal.
- (5) Awta uks -haytg-it gi -sga lax maliitg
 porcupine toward-stand-3 DEM-CN top green
 S PREP
 Porcupine stood at the edge on the green grass.
- m kyoox.
 -CN grass
 ADJ
- (6) Waab -a awaan nah dzab-u.
 house-CN DET PAST make-1SG
 NP A
 That's the house that I built.
 (Dunn 1979b:342)

The location of the topic, in Coast Tsimshian, is preverbal position. In (4) the A, *'wii gyisiyaasg* 'great northwind', is in preverbal position, while in (5) and (6), the S, *awta* 'porcupine', and the O, *waab* 'house', occupy this position, respectively.

While there is no distinction between an A, S or O as to what type of NP is given prominence, there is a distinction made with respect to the presence of a topic marker. As is illustrated in (4), when an A is topicalized there is a topic marker in 'TOP', whereas with a topicalized S or O, as in (5)-(6), there is no topic marker.

The marking of person agreement and the connectives is also sensitive to whether the topicalized NP is an S, A or an O. First, when an S is topicalized, it occurs in preverbal position and the verb is suffixed with a 3rd person dependent pronoun, -t '3', as in (5). The -t can only be interpreted as showing person agreement and not as a connective.

When an A is topicalized, the A occurs in preverbal position and the subjective dependent pronoun, -t '3', marking person agreement with the A, shows some interesting variations which are discussed below. Connectives do not occur with a topicalized A except in one example, (4), where this connective is still present when the A is topicalized. In all of the other examples with a topicalized A that I have found in texts, the only predicative connective which is present marks the following O:

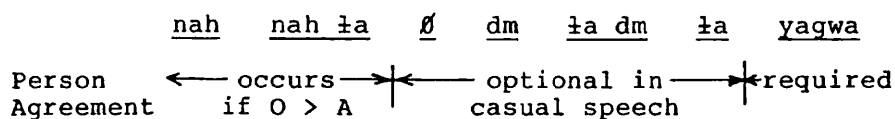
- (7)a. T 'nüüyu dm -t in naks -ga lguuig -n -t.
 3 1SG FUT-3 TOP marry-CN daughter-2SG-DEM
 A A PRED POSS
 It is I who will marry your daughter.
 (Boas 1911:365)

- b. "Nüüyu dm -t in naks -ga ɬguuɬg -n -t,
 1SG FUT-3 TOP marry-CN daughter-2SG -DEM
 A PRED POSS
 I am the one who will marry your daughter,
 Gawo," daya ɬgu ts'apts'ap.
 say little wren
 Gawo," said the little wren.
 (Boas 1912:198)

There are several different variations with the subjective dependent pronoun -t '3' when the A is topicalized. The most formal version is illustrated in (7a), where the -t '3' occurs before the topicalized A, 'nüüyu '1SG', as well as in the usual place, suffixed to the word preceding the topic marker in. This 'double' marking of -t '3' has only been found with a topicalized A that is an independent pronoun. Further, this variation is restricted to the oratory style of speech and even here it is optional, as is shown in (7b) where the -t '3' only occurs suffixed to dm 'FUT'.

The occurrence of the person agreement marker -t is also conditioned by the tense/aspect of the sentence and by the semantic content of the A and O relative to each other. That is, with topicalized As the restrictions on the occurrence of t can be summarized as in (8):

(8) Person Agreement with a Topicalized A



Specifically, with nah 'PAST' and nah ɬa 'PAST just', the t only occurs if the O outranks the A in terms of the argument hierarchy; with Ø 'NonFUT', dm 'FUT', ɬa dm 'about FUT' and ɬa 'PAST', the t is optional in casual speech; and, with yagwa 'PRES' the t is always required.

To summarize, with a topicalized A, connectives are not found to be part of the topicalization process, except in (4), whereas the person agreement marker, -t '3', does occur and is conditioned by the tense/aspect of the sentence, the semantic content of the A and O relative to each other, and whether the speech style is formal or casual.

When an O is topicalized, a predicative connective is optionally suffixed to the O and the subjective dependent pronoun t marks a full NP A, as is summarized in (8) above. In (9), the topicalized O, ni'nii 'DEM PRO' is suffixed with the predicative connective -sga. Here the A is a dependent objective pronoun, -t '3', so there is no person agreement with the A.

- (9) Ni'nii-sga k'yin-k'yinam-t gi -sga ɬguɬg-m
 DEM -CN PL -give -3 DEM-CN young-CN
 PRO PRED A PREP ADJ
 That is what he gave to his son.
 'yuuta-t -ga.
 man -3 -DEM
 POSS
 (Boas 1912:80)

However, in (10), the A, ol 'bear' is a full NP and -t is suffixed to ada 'and' to mark the agreement. The topicalized O, 'niit '3', is also suffixed with the predicative connective -a in this example:

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- (10) Ada-t 'niid-a nah niidz-a ol.
 and-3 3 -CN PAST see CN bear
 A PRED PRED
 He's the one the bear saw.
 (Dunn 1978b:343)

In conclusion, the various strategies involved in topicalization in Coast Tsimshian can be the same for an A, S or O (i.e., neither ergative or accusative), they can treat the S in the same way as an O (i.e., ergative), or they can treat the S in the same way as an A (i.e., accusative). First, it was shown that all three arguments, A, S and O, can be topicalized and that there is no restriction as to the type of NP that can be topicalized. In this respect, topicalization is neither ergative or accusative in Sm'algyax. Next, it was shown that when an S or an O is given prominence in a sentence there is no topicalization marker, but with an A there is. The use of a topicalization marker is, therefore, ergative in Sm'algyax. Connectives were found to be part of the topicalization process only with a topicalized O, where they are suffixed to the O. As the S and A are not specially marked with connectives, this is an accusative strategy. Finally, with regard to person agreement it was shown that a topicalized S or A is marked for agreement, although with different conditioning factors, whereas a topicalized O is not. This, then, is an accusative strategy. Thus, topicalization in Coast Tsimshian is a process which has both ergative and accusative characteristics as well as characteristics which are neither ergative or accusative.

2.3 Relativization

Relativization in Coast Tsimshian is similar to topicalization with regard to the various syntactic and morphological aspects of the process. These include what type of NP can occur as the head of a relative clause, whether or not there is a relative clause marker, and the marking of the connectives and person agreement. These aspects can be the same for an A, S or O (i.e. neither ergative or accusative), they can treat the S in the same way as an O (i.e. ergatively), or they can treat the S in the same way as an A (i.e. accusatively). As with topicalization, the following discussion shows that the strategies involved in relativization in Sm'algyax range over all three of these possibilities.

First, full NPs, independent and dependent pronouns can all occur as heads of relative clauses. There is no restriction as to whether the head functions as an A, S or O in the dependent relative clause. For example, the full NP that is relativized is an A in the relative clause in (11), an S in (12), and an O in (13). In (14), the head of the relative clause is a dependent pronoun.

- (11) Ada-t 'nax'noo-da txa'nii na -gyed -a
 and-3 hear -CN all POSS-people-CN
 A PRED POSS
 And all the people of the Skeena
- ksian wil waal-sga t'apxadool-tga hana'ang-t
 Skeena that do -CN two -CN women -3
 river PRED ADJ A
 heard what the two women who had found
- in waay Hatsenas.
 REL find
 Hatsenas were doing.
 (Boas 1912:80)

- (12) Ada sgüü-t, siipg-it gi -sga n -ts'm-waab
and lie -3 sick -3 DEM-CN POSS-in -house
down S S PREP
And he laid sick in his lodge,

-t -ga gu haytg-it gi -sga na -süül
-3 -CN REL stand-3 DEM-CN POSS-middle
POSS PREP S PREP
which stood in the middle of the

-ga t'aa.
-CN lake
POSS
lake.

(13) Ada-t nii-sga gyik su -naks -ga naks
and-3 see-CN again new-spouse-CN marry
A PRED PREP
And she saw the new wife whom he had married.

-t-ga.
-3-DEM
A
(Boas 1912:160)

(14) Ada al gaks wil da -txalyaa gat-got'iks-at
and EMPH yet that with-increase PL -arrive -3
S
And still [the number of] those arriving who

in hu-waat -a txa'nii ligiwaal-ga.
REL PL-trade-CN all things -DEM
PRED
were trading all kinds of things increased.
(Boas 1912:80)

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clause, the verb of that clause is optionally suffixed with a 3rd person dependent pronoun, -t '3', as in (12) and (16). There is no such marking when the head is an O, as in (13).

- (15) ... dm -t ta'alaayu-sga limkdii-t -ga gu
 FUT-3 visit -CN sister -3 -CN REL
 A PRED POSS-PREP
 ...they were going to visit their sister who

da dzag-a di -sda aamt da sganaktda.
 CN dead-CN DEM-CN good CN some time
 PREP PREP PREP POSS
 had been dead there for some time.
 (Boas 1912:162)

- (16) Ada-t nii wil -t ludam -tga naks -t -ga
 and-3 see that-3 comfort-CN spouse-3 -CN
 A A PRED POSS PRED
 And he saw that his wife was comforting his son

igułg-m 'yuut, yawga 'wiihawtg-it.
 young-CN man PRES cry -3
 S
 who was crying.

In (15), the head of the relative clause, limkdii 'their sister', is suffixed with the prepositional connective ga and the prepositional connective da occurs after the relative marker gu as well. In (16), the head of the relative clause, igułgm 'young man', is not marked with a prepositional connective. In addition, there is no relative marker in this example.

When the head is an A in the relative clause, connectives do not occur as part of relativization. As with topicalization, the dependent pronoun -t '3' occurs with several different variations. For example, in (11), the dependent pronoun -t '3' is suffixed to the head of the relative clause, t'apxadooltga hana'angt 'two women'. In other cases, the -t is suffixed just to the relative marker, in, or just to a tense/aspect marker such as dm 'FUT', as in (17a). In casual speech the -t does not occur, as in (17b).

- (17)a. Nah la 'niidz-d-u 'yuuta dm -t in baa
 PAST just see -3-1SG man FUT-3 REL run
 O A A
 I just saw the man who will run the boat.

- 'n boot. (E)
 -CAUS boat

- b. Nah la 'niidz-d-u 'yuuta dm in baa
 PAST just see -3-1SG man FUT REL run
 O A
 I just saw the man who will run the boat.

- 'n boot. (E)
 -CAUS boat

In summary, relativization, like topicalization, in Sm'algyax, is a process which has characteristics that are ergative, accusative and neither ergative or accusative. First, since all three arguments, A, S and O, can be relativized and there is no restriction as to the type of NP

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that can be relativized, this aspect of relativization is neither ergative or accusative. Next, the relative marker is in 'REL' with a head that is an A in the relative clause, whereas the relative marker is gu or 0 with a head that is an S or O in the relative clause. In this respect, relativization is ergative in Coast Tsimshian. Connectives were found to be part of the relativization process with an S or O but not with an A. In this respect, relativization is also ergative. Finally, it was shown that person agreement marking occurs with a head of a relative clause that is an S or A in the relative clause, but not with an O. This aspect of relativization, then, is accusative.

3. Other Syntactically Ergative Languages

The splits between accusative, ergative and neither ergative or accusative aspects of the various syntactic constructions in Coast Tsimshian are in sharp contrast to the syntactic ergativity of a language such as Dyirbal (Dixon 1972). Morphologically, Dyirbal has a split ergative/accusative system. And syntactically, while the only operations which are ergative are the language-particular syntactic operations (i.e., coordination, subordination, topicalization and relativization), each of these operations is ergative in all aspects of the process. In addition, there is an antipassive construction which serves to bring the A into S function for these processes.

In comparison, then, the Coast Tsimshian data suggest that while the syntax of Coast Tsimshian is clearly not "highly" ergative, there are a number of respects in which it is still definitely ergative. As such, along the syntactic ergative/accusative continuum, Coast Tsimshian lies somewhere between a language like Walmatjari, which Dixon (1979:125-6) describes as having a split ergative/accusative morphology, but an entirely accusative syntax, and a language like Dyirbal, in which the syntactic constructions with a language particular basis are completely ergative.

Three other languages with morphological ergativity which lie between the two ends of the syntactic ergative/accusative continuum are Yidin^y, Chukchee and Yup'ik Eskimo. In Yidin^y subordinate clauses (Dixon 1977), for example, any NP coreferential with an NP in the main clause must be in an S or O function in that subordinate clause. Thus subordination is an ergative syntactic process in Yidin^y. However, coordination in this language has some aspects which are ergative and some which are accusative. There appear to be two main kinds of coordination in Yidin^y. In each case the two (or more) clauses that are joined together involve a common NP. With non-pronominal NPs, the common NP must be in S or O function in each clause, whereas with pronominal NPs, the common NP must be in S or A function in each clause. In each case the common NP will normally only occur in the first clause. In contrast, when a transitive sentence with a pronominal A and nominal O is coordinated with an intransitive sentence, the resulting sentence is ambiguous as to whether the omitted S of the second sentence is coreferential with the A or O of the first clause. Thus coordination in Yidin^y is ergative for nouns and accusative for pronouns.

In Chukchee (Comrie 1979), the only vestige of ergative syntax is in relativization. In this language, relative clauses are formed using various participial verbal forms (analogous to the English the woman knitting the sweater as compared with the woman who is knitting the sweater). Logically, the head noun of this construction can function as the S, A or O within the non-finite clause. However, the negative participle can be used in Chukchee to relativize on S or O, but not on A. To relativize on A with the negative participle, the non-finite verb must be marked with a detransitivizing prefix which in effect changes the A in a transitive clause into an S in an intransitive clause. Thus, the syntax of the negative participle in Chukchee works on an ergative basis.

Finally, in Yup'ik Eskimo (Payne 1982), coordination and relativization operate on an ergative basis. For example, with coordination, sentences can be constructed such that when a transitive and an intransitive clause occur together in a coordinate construction the S of the intransitive clause can logically be interpreted as coreferential with either the A or O of the transitive clause. However, in Yup'ik Eskimo the zero-pro-nominalized single argument of the intransitive clause can only be interpreted as being coreferential with the O of the transitive clause in these types of sentences. For example in a Yup'ik equivalent of a sentence like Tom kissed Doris and then coughed, the S of cough can only be coreferential with the O, Doris, of the first clause, and not with the A, Tom. With relativization in Yup'ik Eskimo, three different nominalizing strategies are used. These three strategies, which each involve a different verbal suffix, nominalize on either S or O, only on S, or only on O, but in none of the strategies on A. Thus, relativization operates on an ergative basis in this language.

To summarize, then, Dyirbal, YidinY, Chukchee and Yup'ik Eskimo, like Coast Tsimshian, all contain syntactic operations of which some or all aspects are ergative rather than accusative. That is, as listed in the following chart, some of the syntactic processes in these languages have an ergative rather than an accusative orientation:

(18) Summary of Syntactic Ergativity

Dyirbal:	coordination subordination topicalization relativization
Chukchee:	relativization
YidinY:	coordinations subordination
Yup'ik Eskimo:	coordination relativization
Coast Tsimshian:	imperatives topicalization relativization

4. Implications for the Notion of Subject

Turning to the definition of subject, syntactically ergative languages such as Coast Tsimshian, Dyirbal, YidinY, Chukchee and Yup'ik Eskimo clearly pose a problem for the identification of subject with a single noun phrase since various syntactic operations in these languages do not identify the same noun phrase as subject across the different operations. To handle this problem, two suggestions have been made for identifying the subject in syntactically ergative languages. The first, proposed by Dixon (1979), involves the distinction between syntactic operations which have a universal accusative basis and those which have a language particular basis. Those with a universal accusative basis operate at the deep structure level where they follow the universal category of 'subject':

'Subject' is defined as a universal deep structure category, involving functions A and S. Languages cannot be characterized as either 'accusative' or 'ergative' in deep structure.

The operation of optional singulary transformations on deep structures yields shallow structures. It is at this level that generalized transformations operate, forming coordinate and subordinate constructions. These rules may treat (derived) S and A in the same way, or they may treat (derived) S and O in the same way; we refer to S/A and S/O pivots respectively. If a language has an S/O pivot, it can be said to have 'ergative' syntax. (Dixon 1979:132)

This proposal works well for a language like Dyirbal which has an S/A pivot and for languages like Yidin^y, Chukchee and Yup'ik Eskimo which can be classified as having an S/A pivot for some syntactic operations and an S/O pivot for others. In all of these languages the syntactic operations which have a universal accusative basis do indeed operate in an accusative manner. However, in Coast Tsimshian, even imperatives have an ergative aspect. Thus, this proposal does not work well for a language like Coast Tsimshian, where some of the syntactic operations with a universal accusative basis also have an ergative aspect.

The second proposal involves the functional approach to clause structure taken by Schachter (1976, 1977) for Philippine languages, which divides subject traits into role and reference related properties. In the Philippine languages, the actor noun phrase expresses the role related properties, as it has the central role in the clause from the perspective of the speaker, whereas the topic noun phrase expresses the reference related properties, as it has prominence due to its presupposed referentiality with respect to other nominals in the sentence.⁶ For Yup'ik Eskimo, Payne (1982) shows that for five subject properties the division of these properties into role and reference properties corresponds to the division of subject properties in Yup'ik Eskimo between those which identify the S/A as subject and those which identify the S/O as subject. For example, the role-related subject properties of leftmost NP in an S, imperative addressee and pivot for elliptical infinitival complements all identify the S/A as subject in Yup'ik Eskimo, just as they identify the actor as subject in Philippine languages. Correspondingly, the reference-related subject properties of pivot across coordinate constructions and relativizability identify the S/O in Yup'ik Eskimo and the topic in the Philippine languages as the subject.

In Coast Tsimshian, however, for each of a number of the role and reference related properties, the particular syntactic process does not identify a single noun phrase as the subject. For example, with imperatives the addressee is the S/A, but with respect to deletion only the A can be deleted. Thus, one aspect of the construction is role related while another aspect is reference related. The problem is further compounded in syntactic operations like relativization where some aspects are ergative, some are accusative and some treat all three noun phrases, S, A and O, alike.

In conclusion, while the definitions proposed by Schachter (1976, 1977) and Dixon (1979) apply to languages with accusative syntax and even to syntactically ergative languages like Dyirbal and Yup'ik Eskimo, none of the proposed definitions can account for the Coast Tsimshian facts. Rather it seems that the notion of subject does not play an important part in explaining the syntactic properties of this language. Thus, in terms of a cross-linguistic definition of subject, it seems that while subject operates in the vast majority of the world's languages which have a fully accusative syntax and to syntactically ergative languages like Dyirbal and Yup'ik Eskimo, subject does not appear to operate in the syntax of Coast Tsimshian.

1. Coast Tsimshian is spoken in the northwest coast of British Columbia in the reserve villages of Hartley Bay, Kitkatla, Lax Kw'alaams (Port Simpson), and Metlakatla, as well as in (New) Metlakatla, Alaska. Sm'algyax is the name that the Coast Tsimshian use for their language.

This paper is based on fieldwork conducted in 1979-1985 and I wish to thank the following in particular, for their help, encouragement and insights into the Sm'algyax language: Ernie Hill and Mildred Wilson (Hartley Bay); Priscilla Bolton, Margorie Brown and Beatrice Robinson (Kitkatla); Pauline Dudoward, Rita Hayward, Verna Helin, Marion Musgrave and Doreen Robinson (Lax Kw'alaams); and Sylvia Leighton (Metlakatla, B.C.). I alone am responsible for any errors.

2. For a fuller discussion of morphological and syntactic ergativity in Coast Tsimshian see Mulder (1987a, 1987b, 1988).
3. The only exception I am aware of is in (i):

(i) Baa-(n).	(ii) Koł-sm.
run-2SG	run-2PL
S	PL S
Run.	Run.

In (i) the S is optional rather than obligatory, whereas in (ii), as is the general case, the S must occur.

The optionality of the 2nd person singular S in this case may be due to the fact that the singular and plural forms of this intransitive verb are suppletive. Thus, the number of the S can be determined from the form of the verb rather than being dependent on the form of the dependent pronoun as is the case when the singular and plural forms of the verb are the same.

4. An (E) indicates that the example has been directly elicited from a native speaker rather than being from a text or observed in natural discourse.
5. That gu 'REL' can not be interpreted as marking only S and Ø as marking only O is shown by examples such as the following:

Ada-t	wil	aayt	-gi	-sga	na	-waa	-t	gu
and-3	then	call.out	DEM-CN	POSS-name-3				REL
A		name	PREP			POSS		
And	then	she	named	the	name			which

nak'yinam-s	nagwat-gas	'niit,	Gunaxniismgyad.
give	-CN	father-CN	3SG
	PRED	PREP	
his	father	had	given to him, Gunaxniismgyad.
(Boas 1912:170)			

Here, the head of the relative clause, nawaat 'his name' is an O in the relative clause, nak'yinams nagwatgas 'niit 'his father had given to him' and is marked with gu 'REL'. Thus, when an S or O is relativized it is marked with Ø or gu 'REL'.

6. As Schachter (1976:494) summarizes, the term "topic", in the usage of Philippinists, applies to the constituent noun phrase which is marked

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either by the use of a topic pronoun form or by a pronominal topic marker and is semantically always interpreted as definite. There is also a case-marking affix on the verb, which indicates the case role of the topic noun phrase. For the term "actor", Schachter (1976:498) states that:

While I know of no really satisfactory generalization about the semantic characteristics associated with the actor... I find that the following characterization (taken from Benton 1971:167) will, if interpreted charitably enough, cover most cases: "the entity to which the action of the verb is attributed." (The requisite charitable interpretation allows "action" to serve as a cover term for actions, happenings, and conditions in general.)

7. The elliptical infinitival complements occur in constructions with finite main verbs and express actions which are perceived as being part of the action of the main verb (e.g. Randy left, kissing his children). What is relevant to the discussion here, is that coreferentiality between a participant of an elliptical infinitival complement and a participant of the matrix clause is controlled by the A and S rather than the S and O.

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BELOW THE SURFACE OF NISGHA SYNTAX: ARGUMENTS AND ADJUNCTS

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Languages can be divided into those which have lexical arguments and those which have pronominal arguments (Jelinek 1986).

In lexical argument languages such as English, the arguments of a predicate, whether nouns or pronouns, are separate words which can be said in isolation, as in

- (1) The cat caught a mouse.
- (2) She ate it.

In pronominal argument languages, on the other hand, the arguments are not separate words, but pronominal morphemes more or less tightly bound to the predicate. They must occur together with the predicate, whether or not lexical referents for these bound pronouns are present in the clause as adjuncts. Typical examples occur in colloquial French, where obligatory pronouns remain close to the predicate, while the coreferent words, or nominal adjuncts, have great freedom of occurrence, as in:

- (3a) Moi, le poulet, j'aime ça.
me the chicken I like that
- (3b) Moi, j'aime ça, le poulet.
- (3c) J'aime ça, moi, le poulet.
- (3d) J'aime ça, le poulet, moi.
- (3e) Le poulet, j'aime ça, moi.
- (3f) Le poulet, moi, j'aime ça.

all of which mean

- (4) I love chicken!

with varying degrees of emphasis on the lexical elements of the sentence.¹

Applying this analysis to Nisgha on the basis of a limited set of data, Jelinek 1986 concludes that Nisgha has a mixed lexical-pronominal argument structure, with nouns

and suffix pronouns in complementary distribution. Additional data will show that the argument structure is truly a pronominal one, with lexical elements serving as adjuncts, but that this structure is obscured by the operation of a phonological rule of de-affrication which deletes the 3rd person suffix pronoun $-t$ before some common pre-nominal morphemes consisting of fricatives, the connectives $=S$ and $=t$...² When this rule applies, nouns appear superficially to be suffixed to verbs, but the pronoun does occur on the surface together with a noun whenever conditions prevent the application of the rule. Other data also support the analysis of pronouns as arguments and nominals as adjuncts. Constructions which appear on the surface to be exceptions to the general rule can be shown either not to be exceptions at all in the light of this new analysis, or to be very recent developments influenced by English. However, J's analysis is not incorrect, since both internal and external analogical factors seem to be moving the language towards the mixed argument structure that she describes.

1. Syntactic generalities:

There are two basic clause types in Nisgha: regular clauses and predicate-focused clauses.³ A regular clause is usually introduced by an element such as Subordinator, a Specified Complement, a Relative-Ergative clitic, or by an Auxiliary or Negative verb, or by another predicate, verbal or nominal, but it can also occur on its own.

These structures where the predicate is usually preceded by various elements contrast with the predicate-focused clause where those elements cannot appear and the predicate is the first constituent of a main clause. Other elements can also be focused, or relativized, but the clauses in which they appear can be related to one or the other of the two basic types.

Both types of clause can include a modal particle and/or one or more modifiers, as well as an evidential postclitic.

2. Data suggesting noun/pronoun complementarity:

For most Nisgha constructions, suffix pronouns appear to occur in complementary distribution with a sequence of pre-nominal connective + noun. Connectives (Boas' term) link nouns with immediately preceding constituents under certain conditions. In addition, they specify whether the noun is determinate (if preceded by the

determinate connective =S, glossed as DC), or non-determinate (if preceded by the non-determinate connective =ɬ, glossed as NC).⁴

The following examples, which are typical of common elicitation patterns, show the morpheme sequences that appear on the surface in the basic clause types.⁵

2.a. Regular clauses: In regular clauses (the most common type), the personal suffix which is attached to the predicate refers to the Absolutive argument (intransitive Subject or transitive Object).

2.a.1. Intransitive: the suffixed Absolutive argument is the Subject of the intransitive verb:

(5) *yùk^W=ɬ yú:xk^W-ɣ̃*
AUX=NC eat-1S

I am eating.
Yukwhl yuuxgwiɣ̃.

(6) *yùk^W=ɬ yú:xk^W-t*
AUX=NC eat-3⁶

S/he is eating.
Yukwhl yuuxkwt.

(7) *ɬa:náks-t*
now married-3

S/he is married now.
Hlaa nakst.

A connective + noun sequence can be suffixed to the verb instead of a 3rd person pronoun suffix. The connective is =S before determinates (mostly proper nouns of persons) and =ɬ before non-determinates (most other nouns). A cluster-simplification rule deletes the Determinate Marker (DM) ɬ between the determinate connective (DC) =S and a following consonant;⁷ if a connective is attached to a word ending in the same fricative /S/ or /ɬ/, only one fricative occurs phonetically.

(8) *yùk^W=ɬ yú:xk^W=s[t]Màry*
AUX=NC eat=DC [DM] M.

Mary is eating.
Yukwhl yuuxkws Mary.

(9) *yùk^W=ɬ yú:xk^W=ɬ ɬkì:k^W-ɣ̃*
AUX=NC eat= NC W's.sister-1S

My sister is eating.
Yukwhl yuuxkwhl hlgigwiɣ̃.

(10) *ɬa:náks=[s]/[t]Pèter*
now married=DC [DM] P.

Peter is married now.
Hlaa naks Peter.

- (11) *ʔa:náks=t ʔkù:ʔk^W-mkât-ʔ* My son is married now.
 now married=NC child-ATTR man-1S *Hlaa nakshl hlguuhlguu gadiy̌.*

2.a.2. Transitive: the suffixed Absolutive argument (highlighted here) is the Object of the verb; the Ergative argument is a clitic which precedes the predicate:

2.a.2.a. Pronouns only:

- (12) *yùk^W-nə ʔimó:m-t* I am helping him/her.
 AUX 1S.ERG help.s.-3 *Yukw ni hlimoomt.*
- (13) *yùk^W-t ʔimó:m-t* S/he is helping him/her.
 AUX 3.ERG help.s.-3 *Yukwt hlimoomt.*
- (14) *yùk^W-t ʔimó:m-ʔ* S/he is helping me.
 AUX 3.ERG help.s.-1S *Yukwt hlimoomiʔ.*

2.a.2.b. Noun(s) present: The 3ERG pronoun is always present in the clause, even when an Agent noun is also present.

2.a.2.b.1. Two nouns: When two nouns, Agent and Object, are present in the clause, the first one, which receives secondary stress, is the Agent, the second, which receives primary stress, is the Object:⁸

- (15) *yùk^W-t ʔimó:m=s [t]Lùcy t Máry* Lucy is helping Mary.
 AUX 3.ERG help.s.=DC [DM] L DM M. *Yukwt hlimooms Lucy t Mary.*
- (16) *yùk^W-t ʔimó:m=t hanàq=t ʔkí:k^W-ʔ* The woman is helping my sister.
 AUX 3.ERG help.s.=NC woman=NC W's.sister-1S *Yukwt hlimoomhl hanak'hl hlgiigwiʔ.*

2.a.2.b.2. Single noun: If only one noun is present in the clause, that noun is suffixed to the verb through a connective; whether it is to be interpreted as Agent (the most likely case) or Object is indicated by secondary or primary stress respectively:⁹

- (Obj) (17) *yùk^W-t ʔimó:m=s [t]Máry* S/he is helping Mary.
 AUX 3.ERG help.s.=DC [DM] M. *Yukwt hlimooms Mary.*

- (18) *yùk^W-t ìimó:m=t íkí:k^W-y̌* S/he is helping my sister.
 AUX 3.ERG help.s.=NC W's.sister-1S *Yukwt hlimoomhl hlgigwiý.*
- (Agt) (19) *yùk^W-t ìimó:m=s [t]L ùcy* Lucy is helping him/her.¹⁰
 AUX 3.ERG help.s.-DC [DM] L. *Yukwt hlimooms Lucy.*
- (20) *yùk^W-t ìimó:m=t íkí:k^W-y̌* My sister is helping him/her.¹⁰
 AUX 3.ERG help.s.-NC W's.sister-1S *Yukwt hlimoomhl hlgigwiý.*

It seems, then, that in the case of an Agent noun, the 3ERG pronoun which precedes the verb is redundant, since it co-refers with the noun, unlike suffix pronouns which seem to be in complementary distribution with sequences of connective + noun.

Jelinek considers that the ERG pronoun in such a case functions as an agreement marker, rather than a pronominal argument: to consider the pronoun the argument would mean treating the noun as an Adjunct, rather than a lexical argument, and this would be an exception to what appears to be the normal argument structure of the language (1986:10, 13).

2.b. Predicate-focused clauses: Predicate-focused clauses place extra emphasis on the predicate, which occurs initially in the clause.¹¹ They answer questions such as 'What did X do (to Y)? What happened to Y?' With focused predicates there is no suffix indicating the Absolutive argument.

2.b.1. Intransitive verbs: in predicate-focused clauses, intransitive verbs do not take a suffix. When the verb is used by itself, it is understood to refer to a third person; a first or second person Subject is indicated by an independent pronoun. A determinate noun is not connected to the verb, but is preceded by a Determinate marker.

- (21) *yú:xk^W ñi:y̌* I ate.
 eat me *Yuuxkw ñiiý.*
- (22) *yú:xk^W* S/he ate.¹²
 eat *Yuuxkw.*
- (23) *yú:xk^W tMàry* Mary ate.
 eat DM M. *Yuuxkw t Mary.*

- (24) *yú:xx^W=t tkí:k^W-y̌* My sister ate.
eat NC W's.sister1S *Yuuxkwhl hlgigwiý.*

2.b.2. Transitive verbs: the personal suffix on transitive verbs--coming after the Control suffix -ə- --indicates the Ergative argument: ¹³

- (25) *himó:m-ə-s [t]L ùcy t Máry* Lucy helped Mary.
help.s.-CTL-DC [DM] L. DM M. *Hlimoomis Lucy t Mary.*
- (26) *himó:m-ə-t hanàq=t tkí:k^W-t* The woman helped her sister.
help.s.-CTL-NC woman=NC w's.sister *Hlimoomihl hanak'hl hlgikwt*
- (27) *himó:m-ə-t t Máry* S/he helped Mary.
help.s.-CTL-3 DM M. *Hlimoomit t Mary.*
- (28) *himó:m-ə-t=t¹⁴ tkí:k^W-t* She helped her sister.
help.s.-CTL-3=NC w's.sister *Hlimoomithl hlgikwt.*

If the Object is unmentioned, it is assumed to refer to a 3rd person:

- (29) *himó:m-ə-t* S/he helped him/her. ¹⁵
help.s.-CTL-3 *Hlimoomit.*
- (30) *himó:m-ə-s [t]L ùcy* Lucy helped him/her.
help.s.-CTL-DC [DM] L. *Hlimoomis Lucy.*
- (31) *himó:m-ə-t hanàq* The woman helped him/her.
help.s.-CTL=NC woman *Hlimoomihl hanak'.*

If the Object is a first or second person pronoun, it is indicated by an independent pronoun, not a suffix:

- (32) *himó:m-ə-t ní:y̌* S/he helped me.
help.s.-CTL-3 me *Hlimoomit níy̌.*

Treatment of the Object in these cases are parallel to that of the Subject of the intransitive verb in predicate-focused clause (1.b.1.).

2.c. Treatment of 3 on 1/2: If suffix pronouns and nouns are in complementary distribution, then it is puzzling to encounter examples such as the following predicate-focused clauses, where the noun is added to a clause already including a suffix pronoun indicating the Agent, after the independent first or second person pronoun indicating the Object (coreferring elements are highlighted):

- (33) *ʔimó:m-ə-t n̩i:y̌ t L ùcy* Lucy helped me.
 help.s.-CTL-3 me DM L. *Hlimoomit n̩i:y̌ t Lucy.*
- (34) *ʔimó:m-ə-t n̩i:y̌=ʔ hanàq̣* The woman helped me.
 help.s.-CTL-3 me=NC woman *Hlimoomit n̩i:y̌hl hanaḳ'.*

If the noun is plural, the suffix on the verb is still the same, never the 3PL suffix (cf. 4.b.2.b.1.a.):

- (35) *ʔimó:m-ə-t n̩i:y̌ tip L ùcy* Lucy 'and them' helped me.
 help.s.-CTL-3 me DM.PL L *Hlimoomit n̩i:y̌ dip Lucy.*
- (36) *ʔimó:m-ə-t n̩i:y̌=ʔ ha:nàq̣* The women helped me.
 help.s.-CTL-3 me=NC women *Hlimoomit n̩i:y̌hl haanaḳ'.*

The noun is similarly added to the corresponding regular clauses, after the verb, which ends in a suffix indicating the Object (in the regular clause, however, there is a precedent for having a noun coreferring with the Ergative pronoun, see above 2.a.2.b.1.):

- (37) *yùk^W-t ʔimó:m-y̌ t L ùcy* Lucy is helping me.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S DM L. *Yukwt hlimoomiy̌ t Lucy.*
- (38) *yùk^W-t ʔimó:m-y̌=ʔ hanàq̣* The woman is helping me.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S=NC woman *Yukwt hlimoomiy̌hl hanaḳ'.*
- (39) *yùk^W-t ʔimó:m-y̌ tip L ùcy* Lucy 'and them' are helping me.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S DM.PL L. *Yukwt hlimoomiy̌ dip Lucy.*
- (40) *yùk^W-t ʔimó:m-y̌=ʔ ha:nàq̣* The women are helping me.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S=NC women *Yukwt hlimoomiy̌hl haanaḳ'.*

Jelinek's interpretation is that a first or second person pronoun takes precedence over lexical arguments, according to the hierarchy 1,2 > NP (1986:9).

3. Data showing the non-complementarity of pronoun and noun: A variety of data show that pronouns and nouns cannot be considered complementary. In many cases other than those in 2.c., the 3 suffix -t̥ does show up in the presence of a coreferring nominal: this occurs whenever there is no immediate contact between the pronoun and a connective, either because of the presence of intervening morphemes (3.a.), or because of a pause in delivery (3.b.).

Additional evidence comes from transcriptional irregularities in Boas 1902.¹⁶ There are many cases where Boas only has the fricative /t̥/ instead of what would nowadays be a sequence /t-t̥/: such deaffrication is frequent in the texts but seems to be random, the result of careless speech; however, in a few examples the sequences /t-t̥/ and /t-S/ occur where modern speakers would have only /t̥/ and /S/: the pronoun and the connective occur together on the surface, probably because of very careful pronunciation (3.c.): in these cases, it is the modern pronunciation that is the result of generalized deaffrication.¹⁷

All these examples show that suffix pronouns and sequences of connective + noun are not complementary, so that the presence of the pronoun must be recognized in all cases at a deeper level of structure.

3.a. Suffix pronoun and connective separated by additional morphemes:

3.a.1. Additional suffixes: Additional suffixes such as evidential postclitics or the comparative suffix -i: 'like...' .../i/ can occur between the pronoun suffixed to the predicate, and a following connective. These additional suffixes prevent contact between a /t̥/-shaped morpheme such as the 3 suffix pronoun and the non-Velar fricative of the connective, so that affrication does not occur and those phonological elements remain distinct on the surface.

3.a.1.a. Evidential postclitics: Evidential postclitics add sentential meanings such as Dubitative, Reportive, Interrogative, Assertive, Distal, and others (T 1984). Some of the postclitics have more freedom of occurrence than others; a few are always attached to the predicate, after the suffix pronoun, which appears on the surface even when there is a co-referring noun in the clause.

3.a.1.a.1. With intransitives: (regular clause examples):

- Examples with pronoun only: the postclitic is added after the pronoun:

- (41) *ʔa:náks-t* S/he is married now.
by.now married-3 *Hlaa nakst.*
- (42) *ʔa:náks-t==a?* S/he is married now! (believe it or not)
by.now married-3==ASST *Hlaa naksdá'a!*
- (43) *ʔa:náks-t==(ə)ma?* S/he is probably married now.
by.now married-3==DUB *Hlaa naksdima'a.*
- (44) *ʔa:náks-t==qat¹⁸* I hear s/he is married now.
by.now married-3==REP *Hlaa nakst-gat.*

- Examples with both pronoun and noun: the noun, preceded by the appropriate connective, occurs after the postclitic, which is preceded by the suffix pronoun:

- (45) *ʔa:náks-t==a?=s[t]/Pèter* Peter is actually married now!
by.now married-3==ASST=DC [DM] P. *Hlaa naksdá'as Peter!*
- (46) *ʔa:náks-t==a?=ʔ kù:ʔk^W-mkàt-ý* My son is actually married now!
by.now married-3==ASST=NC child-ATT man-1S *Hlaa naksdá'ahl hlguuhlguum gadiy!*
- (47) *ʔa:náks-t==əma?=s[t]/Pèter* Peter is probably married now.
by.now married-3==DUB=DC [DM] P. *Hlaa naksdima'as Peter.*
- (48) *ʔa:náks-t==(ə)ma?=ʔ kù:ʔk^W-mkàt-ti:t*
by.now married-3==DUB=NC child-ATT man-3P

Their son is probably married now.
Hlaa naksdima'ahl hlguuhlguum gatdiit.

With the Reportive postclitic ==*qat-gat*, contact with the fricative of a following connective causes deaffrication, always in the case of the determinate connective =S, optionally, especially in rapid speech, for the non-determinate connective =ʔ ...*hl*:

- (49) *ʔa:náks-t==qa[t]=s[t]Pèter* I hear Peter is married now.
 by.now married-3==REP=DC [DM] P. *Hlaa nakst-gas Peter.*

- (50) *ʔa:náks-t==qa[t]=ʔkù:ʔk^W-mkàt-ti:t*
 by.now married-3==REP=NC child-ATT man-3P
 I hear their son is married now.
Hlaa nakst-ga(t)h1 hlguu hlgum gatdiit.

These facts suggest that the overt absence of the suffix pronoun before a connective is attributable to phonological causes, namely the rule of Deaffrication which is also attested in other cases, and that the suffix is indeed present below the surface, thus:

- (51=10) *ʔa:náks-[t]=[s]/[t]Pèter* Peter is married now.
 by.now married-[3]=DC [DM] P. *Hlaa naks Peter.*
- (52=11) *ʔa:náks-[t]=ʔkù:ʔk^W-mkàt-ʔ* My son is married now.
 by.now married-[3]=NC child-ATT man-1S *Hlaa naksh1 hlguu hlgum gadiy.*

The same structure occurs in this example from Boas 1902:

- (53) *ʔa:liki:k^Wilál-t=(ə)ma?ʔ ʔòqs* After about three months... (170.13)
 now about three-3==DUB=NC month *Hlaa ligii gwilaídima 'ah1 hloks...*

(compare:

- (54) *ʔa:k^Wilál-[t]=ʔ ʔòqs* After three months...
 now about three-[3]=NC month *Hlaa gwilaíh1 hloks...)*

In Boas 1902, the postclitic ==*k̥i*: -*gi* seems to prevent the occurrence of a connective in most cases (cf. 3.a.1.a.2.a./b.); modern usage does have the connective with the postclitic:

- (55) *ńí[t]=ʔqanhí-t==k̥i-sim?ó:kit t kùs[t]* That's why that chief said:...(33.13)
 it=NC therefore say-3==DISTAL chief DM that *Nih1 gan hit-gi sim'oogit tgust...*

(compare the modern equivalent without the postclitic:

- (56) *ńí[t]=ʔqanhí-[t]=ʔ sim?ó:kit t kùs[t]* That's why that chief said:..
 it=NC therefore say-[3]=NC chief DM that *Nih1 gan hih1 sim'oogit tgust...)*

3.a.1.a.2. With transitive verb:

3.a.1.a.2.a. In Predicate-focused clause: Again, the occurrence of the suffix pronoun before a postclitic suggests that it occurs in all cases and is only deleted by a surface phonological rule:

- (57) **imó:m-ə-t==(ə)ma?* S/he probably helped him/her.
 help.s.-CTL-3==DUB *Hlimoomidima'a.*
- (58) **imó:m-ə-t==qat* I hear s/he helped him/her.
 help.s.-CTL-3==REP *Hlimoomit-gat.*
- (59) **imó:m-ə-t==(ə)ma?=s[t]/L ùcy* Lucy probably helped him/her.
 help.s.-CTL-3==DUB=DC [DM] M. *Hlimoomidima'as Lucy.*
- (60) **imó:m-ə-t==a?=s[t]/L ùcy* Lucy did help him/her!
 help.s.-CTL-3==ASST=DC [DM] M. *Hlimoomida'as Lucy!*
- (61) **imó:m-ə-t==qat[s]/L ùcy* I hear Lucy helped him/her.
 help.s.-CTL-3==REP=DC [DM] M. *Hlimoomit-gas Lucy.*
- (62) **imó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]/L ùcy* Lucy helped him/her.
 help.s.-CTL-3=DC [DM] M. *Hlimoomis Lucy.*
- (63) *tim?anó:q-ə-t==əma?=s[t]hòx-ý* My mother will probably like it.
 FUTlike.s.-CTL-[3]==DUB=DC [DM] mother-1S *Dim anoogadima'as nooy.*
- (64) *sim?anó:q-ə-[t]=s[t]hòx-ý* My mother really likes/liked it.
 really like.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] mother-1S *Sim anoogas nooy.*

In the following example, the postclitic ==*kí*: -*gi* again prevents the occurrence of a connective: (cf. above 3.a.1.a.1.)

- (65) *hux^W wá-(y)ə-t==kí: ?a:ma: wíl p==kí:* Again he reached a fine house (48.3).
 again find.s.-CTL-3==DISTAL good house==DISTAL *Huxw wayit-gi amaa wíl p-gi.*

3.a.1.a.2.b. In Regular clause: the suffix pronoun indicating the Object occurs before a postclitic, whether or not there is a noun, and whether the following noun is Agent or Object:

- pronoun only:

- (66) *nì:-tì:-t ìimó:m-t* S/he didn't help him/her.
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.-3 *Nidiit hlimoomt.*
- (67) *nì:-tì:-t ìimó:m-t==gat* I hear s/he didn't help him/her.
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.-3==REP *Nidiit hlimoomt-gat.*

- with Agent noun:

- (68) *nì:-tì:-t ìimó:m-t==qalt]=st]L úcy* I hear Lucy didn't help him/her.
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.-3==REP=DC [DM] L. *Nidiit hlimoomt-gas Lucy.*
- (69) *nì:-tì:-t ìimó:m-[t]=st]L úcy* Lucy didn't help him/her.
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] L. *Nidiit hlimooms Lucy.*

- with Object noun:

- (70) *nì:-tì:-t ìimó:m-t==qalt]=st]L úcy* I hear s/he didn't help Lucy.
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.-3==REP=DC[DM]L. *Nidiit hlimoomt-gas Lucy.*
- (71) *nì:-tì:-t ìimó:m-[t]=st]L úcy* S/he didn't help Lucy.
not-INTS-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] L. *Nidiit hlimooms Lucy.*

In the following example, the phrase *k^Wilq̃a:ñíti:t==ki:* 'all of them' *gwiłk'a ñidiit-gi* functions as a noun-phrase which is the Object of the verb (note that here a connective is used after the postclitic ==*k̃i:* -gi, unlike most other Boas examples, 3.a.1.a.1./2.a.):

- (72) *ñi[t]=t̃k̃i:-tlax]lá:q̃al-t==k̃i: t̃ k^Wilq̃a:ñíti:t==ki:*
it=NC and-3E PL)examine.s.-3==DIST NC all them==DIST

Then he examined them all (144.13).

Ñihl k'it laxlaak'alt-gihl gwiłk'a ñidiit-gi.

3.a.1.b. With comparative suffix -i: : this suffix is used especially in the expression **Wit**... -i: *wit ...i* 'looking like ...': in this expression the final /t/ of **Wit** is deleted before the connective =t ...h/.

The following example occurs with an intransitive verb in a regular clause: the suffix pronoun occurs before the comparative suffix: compare with and without the suffix:

(73) *wit t-liki: tim tqa:=to?-t-i=t hañi:tà:tkùn*

...=NC about FUT flat=slide-3-...=NC chair DM this

This chair looks like it's going to collapse.

Wihl ligii dim tk'aahlo'odihi hañiit'aa tgun.

(74) *ta: tim tqa:=to?-[t]=t hañi:tà:tkùn* This chair is going to collapse.

now FUT flat=slide-[3]=NC chair DM this

Hlaa dim tk'aahlo'ohi hañiit'aa tgun.

(75) *ta: tim tqa:=to?-t*

now FUT flat=slide-3

It's going to collapse.

Hlaa dim tk'aahlo'ot.

3.a.2. Additional clause constituents intervening between verb and nominal: In some cases, other clause constituents can or must occur between the verb and a following nominal; in these cases too, the suffix pronoun does occur on the surface, as there is no connective linking the intervening constituents to the predicate. (In the following examples, coreferring items are highlighted).

3.a.2.a. Between an intransitive verb and a Subject noun: In the following example, a circumstantial complement occurs before the Subject noun:¹⁹

(76) *wayk^Wi kina:=tóx-t ?a=t kililx txa:ñit^Ws-[t]=t xúx*

Well! about left-lie.PL-3 PREP=NC up.the.hill all-[3]=NC halibut

Well, all the halibut being left at the top [of the beach] ... (70.7-8)

Way kw'ihl ginaadoxt ahl gililx, txañitkwshl txox.

3.a.2.b. Between a transitive verb and its Object: The following example includes a focused coordinate noun-phrase, the components of which are separated: normally only the first component of such a phrase occurs in the initial, focused position, and the second component occurs later, after the predicate.²⁰ Here the coordinate noun-phrase is the focused Agent; the first component of this phrase occurs in initial

position, the second occurs after the transitive verb, which has a suffixed pronoun Object; the headless relative clause which corefers with this pronoun occurs after the second half of the coordinate noun-phrase.

- (77) *ksax tku ničičt ʔan kíp-t -- qan=t tku k^Wé:ʔ-m tku-tkít^W --*
 only little grandmother 3ERG REL.ERG eat.s.-3 -- and=NC little poor-ATTR little-child
tə wá-(y)ə-[t]=t qà:q ʔa=t hì:tuk^W táwít==ki:
 the²¹ find.s.-CTL-[3]=NC raven PREP=NC morning early==DISTAL

Only the little granny and the poor boy ate what the raven had found that morning
 (lit. only the little granny ate it, and the poor boy, [what] the raven ...) (152.10-12).
Ksax hlgu nits'iits' t an gipt, ganhl hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihlkw, hli wáyihl gaak
ahl hihlukw dawihl-gi.

3.b. Cases where the pronoun occurs instead of expected connective: In a number of instances in Boas 1902, the pronoun occurs where one would normally expect a connective, before a non-determinate noun; this is probably because of a pause in dictation at that point,²² since there are many more examples when a connective does occur. The examples given in this section all have a connective in modern usage.

3.b.1. Examples with Transitive verb: the connective is lacking between verb and Object:

3.b.1.a. Regular clause: Usually, a single noun is more often the Agent than the Object (cf. note 9), but in the examples in this section, a single noun seems to be most often the Object rather than the Agent: note that these examples are chosen here because they do not have a connective between verb and noun: this is more likely to happen with an Object noun than with an Agent noun (cf. note 22).

3.b.1.a.1. Regular clause, nominal Agent:

- (78) *nít[t]=t nít[t] qan wilá:k^W-T-t laxhà==ki:*

it=NC it [3ERG] therefore treat.s.-DEF-3 heaven==DISTAL

That's why Heaven treated them that way (96.2)

Nihl nít gan wilaagwit laxha-gi.

(modern: ... *wilaagwihl* ...)

3.b.1.a.2. Regular clause, Nominal Object:(79) *n̄i[t]=t k̄i:-t w̄iltin-t h̄e:-[t]=t hanáq̄*

it=NC and-3ERG cause.s.-3 saying-[3]=NC woman

Then he did what the woman had told him to (129.15).

N̄ihl k̄'iit w̄ilt'in t h̄eehl hanak̄. (modern: ...*w̄ilt'in hl*...)(80) *t̄a: t̄isk^W-t sk̄i-t t̄ku l̄a:x^W t̄a=t̄[qa-k̄e:w-ə]-[t]=t w̄ilp*

now finished-3ERG place.s.-3 little trout PREP-NC [...-below.house-...]ABST-[3]=NC house

... after he put the little trout on the beach below the house (151.8).

...hlaa hliskwt sgit hlgu laaxw ahl gageewihl w̄ilp. (mod: ...*sgihl*...)(81) *n̄i[t]=t k̄i:-tlu:=ksqal̄a:n-(t)T-t t̄i t̄e:t̄etk^W-ml̄o t̄op==k̄i:*

it=NC and-3ERG in-last-DEF-3 red-ATTR stone==DISTAL

He threw the red stone last [and hit the target] (140.10).

N̄ihl k̄'iit luuksgalaandit ihlee'etgum lo'op-gi.(modern: ...*luuksgalaandihl*...)(82) *k̄i:-t k̄ú:-[t]=t qán--k̄i:-t q̄imqan-t w̄i: t̄amhá:c̄*

and-3ERG take.s.-[3]=NC stick -- and-3ERG pry.up.s.-3 big uprooted.tree

He took a stick and pried up the uprooted tree (55.11-12).

K̄'iit guuhl gan, k̄'iit gemgant w̄ii amhaats̄.(modern: ...*gemganhl*...)(83) *t̄akù m̄əqan cá t̄-t hó:n t̄ə cá p-ə-ŷ*

what? 2ERG therefore eat.up.s.-3 fish the make.s.-CTL-1S

Why did you eat all the fish I prepared? (118.3)

Agu ma gan jahlt hoon hli jabiȳ? (mod. ...*jahl*...)(84) *yùk^W-n̄əcák^W-T-t w̄i:lik̄ińsk^W*

PROG 1S.ERG kill.s.-DEF-3 big grizzly

I just killed the big grizzly (119.5).

Yukw ni jagwit w̄ii lik̄ińskw.(modern: ...*jagwihl*...)3.1.a.3. Regular clause, nominal Agent and Object:(85) *n̄i[t]=t k̄i:-t w̄alx-t k̄e:k^W-T-[t]=t t̄kuçù:c̄?ant̄əhas̄e:x-[t]=s[t]čák*

it=NC and-3ERG carry.s.on.back-3 1[animal]-DEF-[3]=NC little bird rattlebox-[3]=DC[DM] T.

One little bird carried Ts'ak's rattlebox (124.12).

Nihl k'iit walxt k'eegwihl hlgu ts'uuts'andahaseexs Ts'ak.

(here note the absence of connective between the Agent and Object noun-phrases as well; modern: *Nihl k'iit walxhl k'eegwihl hlgu ts'uuts'hl andahaseexs Ts'ak*).

(86) *ʔa:qó.ta-[t]=ʔkín-t xskà.k=ʔ ʔku-wíłksiʔk^W*

now gone.PL-[3]=NC give.food.to.s.-3ERG eagle=NC little-prince

Now the eagles had stopped bringing food to the prince (179.9-10).

(lit. now what [food] the eagles had been giving the prince was gone).

Hlaa goodahl gint xsgaakhl hlguwíłksiłkw. (modern: ...*gínhl*...)

3.b.1.b. Predicate-focused clause:

- nominal Agent:

(87) *ní[t]=ʔnítsim yóxk^W-ə-t ʔku k^Wè:ʔ-m ʔku-tkìʔk^W ʔi mìn-[t]=ʔ wí:qán==ki:*

it=NC it really follow.s.-CTL-3 little poor little-child the base-[3]=NC big tree==DISTAL

The poor boy headed right that way, towards the base of the huge tree (147.10-11).

Nihl níit sim yoxgwit hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihłkw, hli mìnhl wíi gan-gi.

(Here the second *níit* 'it' is the Focused Object of the transitive verb and would also be followed nowadays by the non-determinate connective, causing deletion of the /t/:

Nihl níhl sim yoxgwihl ...).

- nominal Object:

(88) *ʔix)lisaʔan-[ə]t sə-lít-t==ki:* He had finished making his wedges (148.5).

PL)finish.s.-[CTL]-3 make-wedge-3==DIST *Hlixhlisa'ant silitt-gi.*

(modern: *Hlixhlisa'anthl*...)

(89) *lipsə-naxnóq-ə-t ʔku k^Wè:ʔ-m ʔku-tkìʔk^W*

self make-supernatural.being-CTL-3 little poor-ATTR little-child

The poor boy had acquired supernatural powers on his own / ...had made himself into a supernatural being (152.6).

Lip sinaxnogat hlgu gwee'em hlgutk'ihłkw.

(modern: ... *sinaxnogahl* ...)

3.b.a.4. Examples with transitive verb and Object clause: compare the following parallel sentences occurring on the same page: two have the connective, one does not and the pronoun occurs overtly instead:

(90) *n̄il[t]=t̄k̄i:hux^W-tká?-[t]=t̄wilkina=tóx-[t]=t̄ci:x^W*

it=NC and again-3.ERG see.s.-[3]=NC SUB left=lie.PL-[3]=NC porpoise

Then again he saw that there were porpoises left [on the beach] (167.5).

N̄ihl k'īi huxwt ga'ahl̄ wil ginaadoxhl̄ jiixw.

(91) *n̄il[t]=t̄k̄i:-thux^Wká?-t̄wilkina=skí-[t]=t̄t̄ipin*

it=NC and-3.ERG again see.s.-[3]=NC SUB left=lie-[3]=NC sealion

Then again he saw that there was a sealion left [on the beach] (167.7-8).

N̄ihl k'īit huxw ga'at̄ wil ginaasgihl̄ t'ibin.

(92) *n̄il[t]=t̄k̄i:-tká?-[t]=t̄wilkina=skí-[t]=t̄w̄i:t̄p̄in*

it=NC and-3.ERG see.s.-[3]=NC SUB left=lie-[3]=NC big whale

Then he saw that there was a big whale left [on the beach] (167.11).

N̄ihl k'īit ga'ahl̄ wil ginaasgihl̄ w̄īi hlbin.

Some other examples with clause Objects are:

(93) *t̄a:-tnax̄n̄á-t̄paqat̄il-[t]=t̄t̄k̄i-[t]=t̄t̄k̄ú:t̄k^W-t==k̄i:*

by.now-3.ERG hear.s.-3 two[persons]-[3]=NC children-[3]=NC child-3==DISTAL

...when he heard that his daughter had two children (162.10).

...hlaat̄ nax̄n̄at̄ bagadilhl̄ hlgihl̄ hlguuhlkw̄t-gi.

(modern: ...*nax̄n̄ahl̄*...)

(94) *k̄i:-tq̄áq-T-t̄willu=qác-[t]=t̄ʔàks==k̄i:*

and-3.ERG open.s.-DEF²³-3 SUB in=[liquid]be-[t]=NC water==DISTAL

... and he opened [the container] where the water was (26.13).

...k'īit̄ k'agat̄ wil luugatshl̄ aks-gi. (modern: ...*k'agahl̄*...)

3.b.2. Examples with intransitives in regular clause: here the connective is lacking between verb and Subject:

(95) *wilá:x-ti:t̄n̄í-t̄t̄w̄i:k̄at̄*

know.s.-3P that's-3 DM big man

They knew that he was Giant (16.2).

Wilaaxdiit̄ n̄it̄ (t̄) W̄īi Gat. (mod: ...*n̄it̄/n̄is*...)

(96) *n̄il[t]=t̄k̄i:hak'simhux^W yé:-tniç:ç-[t]=[s]/[t]çák*

it=NC and again again go-3 grandmother-[3]=[DC] [DM] Ts'ak

Then Ts'ak's grandmother went again (124.3-4).

N̄ihl k'ii hak'sim huxw yeet nits'iits' Ts'ak.

(modern: ...*yees nits'iits'* ...)

(97) *n̄il[t]=t̄k̄i:k̄is)k̄áck^W-t̄ w̄i:-hilt- m k̄at*

it=NC and PL)land-3 great-many-ATTR people

Then lots of people landed (185.7).

N̄ihl k'ii k'isk'atskw̄t w̄i:hildim gat.

(modern: ...*k'isk'atskw̄h* ...)

(98) *n̄il[t]=t̄k̄i:-tlu:=m̄áqsaʔan-tʔa=t̄ w̄ilsáq̄T-t̄ w̄i:q̄an*

it=NC and-3ERG in-place.s.PL-3 PREP=NC SUB cracked-3 big tree

Then he put them [the wedges] ~~back~~ in the crack of the big tree (148.12-13).

N̄ihl k'iiit luumaks̄aʔant ahl w̄il sak̄ʔat w̄ii gan-gi. (modern: ...*w̄il sak̄ʔahl* ...)

(99) *n̄il[t]=t̄k̄i:hux^W m̄itk^W-t̄ hux^W k̄il-[t]=t̄ w̄ilp*

it=NC and again full-3 again one-[t]=NC house

Then one more house was full (158.6).

N̄ihl k'ii huxw m̄itkw̄t huxw k'iihl w̄ilp.

(modern: ...*m̄itkw̄h* ...)

(100) *ʔá:m=t̄ tim ʔitk^Ws-t̄ tim w̄à-t*

good=NC FUT called-3 FUT name-3

He should receive his name (165.1).

(lit. his name should be called)

Aamhl dim itkw̄st dim wat.

(modern: ...*itkw̄sh* ...)

(101) *k̄áʔ-ə-twikaqa=his)yáck^W-t̄ t̄ə tà:w-[t]=t̄ sqañísT==ki:*

see.s.-CTL-3 SUB across=PL)chopped-3 the ice-[3]=NC mountain==DISTAL

He saw that steps had been chopped across the glacier (202.6-7)

(lit. ... that the ice of the mountain had been multiply chopped across).

Gaʔat w̄il jagahisyatskw̄t hli daawhl sqañist-gi.

(modern: *jagahisyatskw̄h* ...)

3.b.3. Examples with higher predicate introducing an intransitive clause: in this case a higher predicate is normally followed by a non-determinate connective, except before the Irrealis particle *Cə ji:*

3.b.3.a. Cases which would normally take a connective:

- (102) *ʔa: ʕú:sk-t tim wil núw-[t]=ʔàx^Wt*
 now little-3 FUT SUB die-[3]=NC porcupine
 ... just before the porcupine was going to die (76.6-7)
...hlaa ts'uusk^t dim wil núw^hl axwt ...
 (modern: ...*ts'uusk^hl* ...)

- (103) *ñil[t]=ʔkⁱ:ñák^W-t wiyitk^W-t* Then he cried for a long time (90.3).
 it=NC and long-3 cry-3 *Ñihl k'ii ñakwt wiyitkwt.*
 (modern: ...*ñakw^hl* ...)

- (104) *ha^Win-kiñák^W-t ʔita:yúk^Wsa* Not long after dark ... (156.4-5).
 not.yet-INTENS long-3 since evening *Ha^Wingii ñakwt hlidaa yukwsa ...*
 (modern: ...*ñakw^hl* ...)

- (105) *ñil[t]=ʔkⁱ:ʔə qó:q-t tim múk^W-[t]=ʔmà:y^ʔ*
 it=NC and the in.front-3 FUT ripe-[3]=NC berries
 Then before the berries were ripe... (206.5).
Ñihl k'ii hla gook^t dim mukw^hl maay^y ...
 (modern: ...*gook^hl* ...)

(here the higher predicate is a possessed noun and the clause is its 'possessor')

- (106) *ʔa: wí:tís-t wil sa:=ʔkúk^Wsk^W-[t]=ʔk^Wi:s-qanà:w^ʔ-t==ki:*
 now great-3 SUB off-inert-[3]=NC garment-frog-3==DISTAL
 He was now having great difficulty taking off his frogskin [that he wore underwater] /
 His frogskin was getting very hard to take off (163.15).
Hlaa wíit'ist wil saahlgukwskw^hl gwiisganaaw^t-gi.
 (modern: ...*wíit'ish^hl* ...)

3.b.3.b. Before the Irrealis particle CƏ ji: no connective is ever used with this particle, so that the 3 suffix appears on the surface in cases like the following:

- (107) *ni:-ki:skí-t cə tim kíp-ə-[t]=ʔkù:ʔk^W-[t]=ʔsim^ʔó:kit*
 not-INTENS be-3 IRR FUR eat.s.-CTL-[3]=NC child-[3]=NC chief
 The chief's daughter didn't have anything to eat (146.2).
Nigii sgit ji dim gibihl hlguuhlkw^hl sim'oo^git.

However, the contact of final /t/ with the initial /C/ of the particle causes coalescence into a single segment /C/, and present-day speakers do not perceive a final suffix. The modern equivalent of this example is written: *Nigii sgi ji...* Another modern example is:

(108) *qús-ə-ŷnətim wá-[t]cə wil máxk^W-ŷ*

can't-CTL-1S 1S.ERG find.s.-[3] IRR SUB ride-1S

I couldn't find a ride (...[someone] to ride with).

Gosiŷ ni dimwá ji wil máxgwiŷ.

3.c. Cases where deaffrication does not occur:

The Boas texts contain many instances where only a fricative is noted, where a modern speaker would have a /t/ + fricative sequence. As these instances appear to be random, they may be attributable to a very weak pronunciation of the /t/ before fricative, especially after unstressed vowel. As Boas's consultants seem to deaffricate more than present-day speakers (e.g. after the 3P suffix -t̃i:t̃...*diit*, 3.c.1.b.2.), the few cases where they do not deaffricate, probably as a result of particularly careful enunciation, are particularly noteworthy.

3.c.1. Regular clause:

3.c.1.a. With intransitive verb:

(109) *ñi[t]=t̃k̃i:lu:yáltk^W-t=s[t]càk* Then Ts'ak went back ... (121.1).

it=NC and return-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak

Nihl k'ii luuyaltkwts Ts'ak ...

(modern: ...*luuyaltkws* ...)

(110) *ʔa: ʔé:xk^W-[t]=s[t]càk - simcé:x-t=s[t]kàk*

by.now finished.eating-[3]=DC [DM] Ts'ak - really satiated-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak

When Ts'ak had finished eating and was really full ... (128.6-7).

Hlaa hleeɣkws Ts'ak, sim ts'eerts Ts'ak ... (modern: ...*ts'eerts*...)

(111) *ʔa: hux^Wsiá:tk^Ws-t=t̃hì-[t]=t̃k̃upa:-t̃k̃i^W=ki:*

now again begin-3=NC saying-[3]=NC little.PL-child==DISTAL

... the children had started to talk [loud] again (98.15-16).

...*hlaa huxw sit'aatkws^{thl} hihl k'ubatk'ihlkw-gi.*

(modern: ...*sit'aatkws^{thl}*...)

3.c.1.b. With transitive verb:- after 3 suffix:

- (112) ...*ʔálkax-[t]=ʔkò:l-[t]=ʔkàt ʔa=s[t]čák -- t ʔtk^W-t=s [t]kák*
 speak-[3]=NC one-[3]=NC man PREP=DC [DM] Ts'ak -- 3ERG call.s.-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak
 ... one man spoke to Ts'ak, calling Ts'ak's name ... (120.6)
... alga^hl k'yoolhl gat as Ts'ak, t itkwts Ts'ak ...
 (modern: ...*itkwts* ...)

- (113) *nìl[t]=ʔki:-tʔanks=ksláqs-t=s [t]čàk wì:qán*
 it=NC and-3ERG opening=kick.s.-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak big tree
 Then Ts'ak kicked open the big tree [in the crack of which he was wedged] (134.2).
Nìhl k'ìit ankskslaks Ts'ak wìigan.
 (modern: ...*ankskslaks Ts'akhìl* ...)
- (note here also the missing connective between the Agent and Object nouns).

- after 3P suffix: In the following two cases, the determinate connective would not be used in modern Nisgaha after the 3P pronoun suffix *-tì:t...diit*, which corefers with the Ergative pronoun; its use here represents an exception to the normal usage of Boas' consultants but may represent an older usage (see below 4.b.2.a.):

- (114) *nìl[t]=ʔwil-ttqal=tə-tákʔ-tì:t=s [t]kák*
 it=NC SUB-3 against-DOM-binding-3P=DC [DM] Ts'ak
 They had Ts'ak tied up there (120.11).
Nìhl wìlt tk'aldidakhldiits Ts'ak.
 (modern: ...*tk'aldidakhldiit (t) Ts'ak.*)
- (115) *nìl[t]=ʔki:-tsa=kú:-tì:t=s [t]kák* Then they took Ts'ak off (120.15).
 it=NC and-3ERG off=take.s.-3P=DC [DM] Ts'ak *Nìhl k'ìit saaguudiits Ts'ak.*
 (modern: ...*saaguudiit (t) Ts'ak.*)

3.c.2. Predicate-focused clause: the following examples are of transitive verbs followed by nominal Agents:

- (116) *k^Wiʔ yúk^W-T-ə-t=s [t]čàk ʔ ʔku qàmt-m lóʔop*
 about hold.s.-DEF-CTL-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak NC little firestarter-ATTR rock

Ts'ak was carrying a strike-a-light about him (118.9).

Kw'ihl yukwdits Ts'akhl hlgu gamdim lo'op.

(modern: ...yukwdis ...)

(117) *yúk^W-T-ə-t=ṭ ṭku-tḳiṭk^W ṭ qán* The child was holding a stick (125.4-5).

hold.s.-DEF-CTL-3=NC little-child NC stick *Yukwdihl hlgutk'ihlkwhl gan.*

(modern: *Yukwdihl* ...)

4. Pronominal arguments, nominal adjuncts: The data in section 3 show that suffix pronouns are not truly in complementary distribution with a sequence of connective + noun. Where the deaffrication rule either cannot or does not operate (for whatever reason), suffix pronouns do occur on the surface, in the same clause as coreferring nouns.

If there is no complementary distribution of nouns and suffix pronouns, and the presence of a 3rd person suffix must be assumed in all cases, then the pronoun is the argument of the verb, not the noun, which is only an adjunct. This section presents yet other evidence supporting this interpretation.

If one accepts that Nisgha arguments are pronominal rather than lexical, the case of the 3ERG pronoun which must occur even with a noun (2.a.2.b. above) is no longer isolated, since the 3 suffix pronoun also must occur, and the case of 1st and 2nd person pronouns is no longer to be considered apart from that of 3rd person pronouns or of nouns.

4.a. Additional evidence for the Adjunct status of coreferring nouns:

4.a.1. Reverse-order transitive constructions: In the great majority of cases, nouns coreferring with pronouns occur in the same order as the pronouns, i.e. the Agent noun precedes the Object noun in the same way as the preverbal Ergative clitic pronoun precedes the Absolutive suffix pronoun, but there are a few exceptions in which the order of nouns is reversed. That the order of nouns can be reversed, not that of pronouns, supports the identification of nouns as simply adjuncts to the pronouns, which are the arguments (cf. French examples above, (3.a-f)).

4.a.1.a. Normal noun order: nouns coreferring with pronouns normally occur in the same order as the pronouns: Ergative first, Absolutive second.

- in regular clause:

- (118=15) *yùk^W-t ðimó:m-[t]=s[t]L ùcy t Máry* Lucy is helping Mary.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-[t]=DC [DM] L. DM M. *Yukwt hlimooms Lucy t Mary.*

- in predicate-focused clause:

- (119=25) *ðimó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]L ùcy t Máry* Lucy helped Mary.
 help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] L. DM M. *Hlimoomis Lucy t Mary.*

4.a.1.b. Reverse noun order: In most of the examples available, this reversal occurs when the verb is *húkax* 'to be like s.' *hugax*: when the nominal Object of this verb is inanimate, it usually follows the verb, and the nominal Agent comes last. Stress depends on the function of the noun, not its position: as in the majority of clauses, the Object here receives primary stress, the Agent secondary stress (cf. above 2.a.2.):

4.a.1.b.1. Predicate-focused clause:

- (120) *húkax-ə-[t]=t ðít ð qàn==ki:* They used a stick as their ball²⁴ (95.2).
 be.like.s.-CTL-[3]=NC ball NC stick==DISTAL *Hugaxahl hlít'hl gan-gi.*

- (121) *húkax-ə-tlím-x-ti: ð hì-t==ki:*
 be.like.s.-CTL-3 sing-INDEF NC say-3==DISTAL
 When he said it it sounded like singing (54.1-55.1).
 (lit. his saying sounded like ...)
Hugaxat limxdiihl hit-gi.

(note here the lack of a connective between the verb and the Object, cf. 3.b.1.b.).

When one of my Nisgha-speaking co-workers and I were going over a story in which the following sentence occurs:

- (122) *kát=ðmà:l==ki:* The canoe was a person (i.e. had a life of
 man=NC canoe==DISTAL its own)(106.13). *Gathl maal-gi.*

she added a word to the sentence to read:

- (123) *húkax-ə-[t]=t kát=ðmà:l==ki:* The canoe was like a person.
 be.like.s.-CTL-[3]=NC man=NC canoe==DISTAL *Hugaxahl gathl maal-gi.*

As written, the new sentence could be interpreted as: 'The man was like a canoe', but the stress pattern has primary stress as usual on the Object noun, which here precedes the Agent (compare above 2.a.2., 2.b.2.).

4.a.1.b.2. Regular clause:

- (124) *n̥il[t]=ʔki:-thúkaχ-[t]=ʔsmá:w̥inʔəqam-ʔalbiksk^W-tʔa=ʔqaltú:x*
 it=NC and-3ERG be.like.s.-[3]=NC maggots the refuse-whittling-3 PREP=NC horn.spoon
 What she was whittling off the horn spoon looked like maggots (8.9-10).
N̥ihl k'iit hugaxhl smaaʔin hla gamhlalbikskwt ahl k'alduux.

Other verbs can also occur in this construction, as in:

- (125) *n̥il[t]=ʔki:-tsa.=ʔóq-[t]=ʔʔamàlk^W-m̥tim=ʔá:m̥-tkò:l-t==ki:*
 it=NC and-3ERG off-scratch.s.-[3]=NC scab-ATTR shin-3 one[person]-3==DISTAL
 One of them scratched off a scab from his shin (36.7-8).
N̥ihl k'iit saat'okhl amalgun t'imhlaamt, k'yoolt-gi.

4.a.2. Possessed nouns: Possession is indicated by the same personal pronoun suffixes as are used as Absolutive arguments of verbs. A possessed noun can be used as a clause predicate, as well as non-predicatively. Some details of a clause in which the predicate is a possessed noun are shared with transitive constructions and throw further light on the argument/adjunct structure.

4.a.2.a. Suffixation: in possessive noun-phrases, the conditions of occurrence of personal suffix or connective + noun are the same as with intransitive verbs, and evidential postclitics can also be added after the suffix:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (126) <i>wilp-ʔ</i>
house-3. | 'my house'
<i>wilbiʔ</i> |
| (127) <i>wilp-t</i>
house-3. | 'his/her house'
<i>wilpt</i> |
| (128) <i>nóχ-t</i>
mother-3 | 'his/her mother'
<i>nóχt</i> |

- (129) *nóx-t==a?* 'lit's) his/her mother!
 mother-3==ASST *noxda'a*

- (130) *nóx-t==a?=s[t]Máry* 'lit's) Mary's mother!
 mother-3==ASST=DC[DM]S. *noxda'as Mary!*

so the suffix pronoun must occur also in:

- (131) *nóx-[t]=s[t]Máry* 'Mary's mother'
 mother-[3]=DC[DM]M. *nóxs Mary*

In Boas 1902, the postclitic ==*kí*: -*gi* seems to prevent the occurrence of a connective between the two nouns (cf. 3.a.1.a.1./2.a.; modern usage does have the connective as well as the postclitic):

- (132) *wílp-t==kí: sim?ó.kittkùs[t]* 'the house of that chief' (25.2.)
 house-3==DIST chief DM that *wilpt-gi sim'oogit tgus*

(compare without the postclitic:

- (133) *wílp-[t]=t sim?ó.kittkùs[t]* 'the house of that chief'
 house-[3]=NC chief DM that *wilphl sim'oogit tgus)*

If there is no =S connective before a determinate noun, the determinate marker (DM) *t* is present on the surface as well, just before the noun:

- (134) *hisnúwtkw=t wíl-t==kí: t txèmsim* Txeemsim pretended to be dead
 pretend.to.be.dead=NC act-3==DISTAL DM T. (65.11). (lit. T.'s act was to pretend...)
Hisnúwtkwhl wilt-gi t Txeemsim.

(Compare without the postclitic, therefore with the connective:

- (135) *hisnúwtkw=t wíl-[t]=s[t]txèmsim* Txeemsim pretended to be dead.
 pretend.to.be.dead=NC act[3]=DC[DM]T. *Hisnúwtkwhl wils Txeemsim.)*

4.a.2.b. Possessed noun as clause predicate:

4.a.2.b.1. In predicate-focused clause: In terms of morpheme and word order, some predicate-focused clauses with nominal predicates behave exactly like transitive constructions (2.b.2.).²⁵ In particular, in both types of constructions a noun coreferring with a suffix pronoun occurs after an independent 1st or 2nd person pronoun (2.c.). This shows that the Ergative role is not the only one for which the pronoun can corefer with a noun.

- (136) *ʔkú:ʔk^W-t nì:y̌* I am his/her son/daughter.
 child-3 me *Hlgvuhlkwt ñiiy̌.*
- (137) *ʔkú:ʔk^W-t nì:y̌ t Màry* I am Mary's son/daughter.²⁶
 child-3 me DM M. *Hlgvuhlkwt ñiiy̌ t Màry.*
- (138) *siʔkú:ʔk^Ws-t nì:y̌ t Màry* Mary adopted me.
 adopted.child-3 me DM M. (lit. I am Mary's adopted child)
Sihlgvuhlkwt ñiiy̌ t Màry.
- (139) *ʔansk^Wátk^W-t nì:y̌ ʔ lip wák-y̌* My own brother makes fun of me.
 cause.of.fun-3 IND-1S NC self M's.brother-1S (I am my brother's laughing-stock)
Ansgwatkw̌t ñiiy̌h lip wagǐy̌.
- Where there are two nouns, the first one is linked to the predicate by a connective and corefers with the pronoun, as in a transitive predicate-focused clause (2.a.2.b.), but the stress pattern is opposite:
- (140) *ʔkú:ʔk^W-[t]=s[t]Máry t Làura* Laura is Mary's child.
 child-[3]=DC [DM] M. DM L. *Hlgvuhlkws Mary t Laura.*
- (141) *ʔansk^Wátk^W-[t]=ʔ lip wák-t ʔ ʔku-wilksiʔk^W*
 cause.of.fun-[3] =NC self M's.brother-3 NC little-prince
 His own brother was making fun of the prince.
 (The prince was his own brother's laughing-stock)
Ansgwatkw̌h lip wákthl hlguwilksihkw̌.

4.a.2.b.2. In regular clause: here transitive and nominal predicate constructions differ: the nominal predicate keeps its suffix pronoun, and the suffix pronoun is attached to the Indirect pronoun base **lO:-** *loo...* This construction is not restricted to 1st and 2nd person pronoun, but also occurs with 3rd person pronouns. However, coreferring nouns occur after this phrase, as they do with transitives.

The following is a regular clause analogous to the predicate-focused clause (141):

(142) *n̄l[t]=t̄ki:ʔansk^Wátk^W-t lò:-ȳ lip wák-ȳ*

that's=NC and cause.of.fun-3 IND-1S self M's.brother-1S

Then my own brother was making fun of me.

N̄hl k'ii ansgwatkwt looȳ lip wagīȳ.

In the following example, the 3rd person Indirect pronoun **lO:-t** *loot* occurs between the nominal predicate and its nominal possessor. Note that here both the suffix pronoun on the nominal predicate and that on the Indirect pronoun have coreferring noun-phrases, occurring in the same order as the pronouns (cf. the two nouns in the transitive clause in 4.a.1.a.); the one coreferring with the Indirect pronoun occurs after the preposition **ʔa** *a...*:

(143) *n̄l[t]=t̄ki:ʔansk^Wátk^W-t lò:-t -- lip wák-[t]=t̄ t̄ku-wilksit̄k^W*

that's=NC and cause.of.fun-3 IND-3 self M's.brother-[3]=NC little-prince

ʔa=t̄ w̄i: lip wák-t==ki:

PREP=NC big self brother-3==DISTAL

Then the prince's own brother was making fun of his big (oafish) brother. (196.5-6)

(lit. he was making fun of him, the prince's own brother, of his own big brother)

N̄hl k'ii ansgwatkwt loot, lip wakhl hlgu wilksihlk^W, ahl w̄ii lip wák-gi.

4.b. Adjuncts other than nouns: Nouns are not the only elements that can be adjuncts to pronominal arguments. In one case, 1st and 2nd person independent pronouns are used as adjuncts to the corresponding preverbal Ergative pronouns, in exact parallelism with adjunct nouns. The 3rd person plural suffix is also used as an adjunct to the 3ERG pronoun, in complementary distribution with a noun.

4.b.1. Independent pronouns adjuncts: This is the case of the quoting verb **yá**, pl. **hí:ta** 'to say "..."*ya /hiida*, which has some morphological and syntactic peculiarities.²⁷ It follows the words quoted and is always preceded by an Ergative

pronoun.

4.b.1.a. With 3ERG pronoun: A 3rd person Ergative pronoun is morphologically linked to the verb by an epenthetic vowel; the verb can be followed by a coreferring noun which receives secondary stress.

(144) ... " *t(ə)* -yá
... 3ERG-say "..." s/he said.
"..." *diya*.

(145) ... " *t(ə)* -yá *t Màry*
... 3ERG-say DM M. "..." Mary said.
"..." *diya t Mary*.

(146) ... " *t(ə)* -hí:ta
... 3ERG-say.PL "..." they said.
"..." *dihida*.

(147) ... " *t(ə)* -hí:ta *tip Màry*
... 3ERG-say.PL DM.PL M. "..." Mary 'and them' said.
"..." *dihida dip Mary*.

4.b.1.b. With 1st person ERG pronoun: If the Ergative pronoun is 1st person,²⁸ it is followed by a corresponding independent pronoun which receives secondary stress (at least for older speakers; younger speakers tend to omit the 1st singular independent pronoun):

(148) ... " *nə* -yá (*ni:y*)
... 1S.ERG-say me "..." I said.
"..." *niya (niiy)*.

(149) ... " *tip* -hí:ta *nu:m*
... 1P.ERG-say.PL us "..." we said.
"..." *dip hiida nuum*.

The optional use of nouns and obligatory use of 1st person independent pronouns recalls the structure of Predicate-focused transitive clauses (2.b.2., 2.c.).

4.b.2. Plural suffix adjunct to 3rd person pronoun: The plural suffix -tí:t ...*diit* is also used as an adjunct to a 3rd person clitic (Ergative) or suffix pronoun, in the absence of a noun. Here there seems to be true complementarity between noun and pronoun, but some morphosyntactic irregularities associated with this pronoun (as against the other suffix pronouns) argue against this conclusion. This suffix is composed of the

indefinite suffix $-t\dot{i}$: (T 1986:2; cf. (121)) and the 3 suffix $-t$, and it seems to be a recent addition to the list of Nisgha personal suffixes. Keeping its components separate throws light on some otherwise puzzling data.²⁹

4.b.2.a.. Plural adjunct to 3ERG in regular clause: In a regular clause, when the 3ERG pronoun refers to a plural (especially human) Agent that is not specified by a noun adjunct, the predicate is suffixed with the 3P suffix $-t\dot{i}:t$, in the sequence $t \dots [\text{PRED}] -t\dot{i}:t$.

4.b.2.a.1. Surface occurrence: The 3P suffix is in complementary distribution with a plural Agent noun, so that it too can be considered an adjunct to the 3ERG suffix.

Compare for instance:

(150) $y\grave{u}k^w-t \dot{i}m\acute{o}:m-t\dot{i}:t tM\acute{a}ry$ They are helping Mary.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-3P DM M. *Yukwt hlimoomdiit (t) Mary.*

(151) $y\grave{u}k^w-t \dot{i}m\acute{o}:m-[t] \dot{t} h\grave{a}:n\acute{a}q\acute{t} tM\acute{a}ry$ The women are helping Mary.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3] NC women DM M. *Yukwt hlimoomhl haanaq' t Mary.*

(152) $y\grave{u}k^w-t \dot{i}m\acute{o}:m-t\dot{i}:t$ They are helping her/him.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-3P *Yukwt hlimoomdiit.*

(153) $y\grave{u}k^w-t \dot{i}m\acute{o}:m-[t] \dot{t} h\grave{a}:n\acute{a}q\acute{t}$ The women are helping her/him.
AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3] NC women *Yukwt hlimoomhl haanaq'.*

As described here, the two structures are not entirely parallel: when a noun Agent corefers with the 3ERG pronoun, the verb has a suffix indicating the Object; but when the 3P pronoun corefers with the 3ERG pronoun, there is no indication of the Object. However, another interpretation is possible.

4.b.2.a.2. Interpretation: The 3rd person plural suffix $-t\dot{i}:t$ is not a single suffix, but consists of the Indefinite personal suffix $-t\dot{i}$: (originally a plural or collective suffix, hence glossed PL here) followed by the 3rd person suffix $-t$. We can interpret the plural morpheme $-t\dot{i}$: as the adjunct to the 3ERG pronoun, and the following 3 suffix pronoun $-t$ as the Absolutive argument coreferring with the Object noun: compare the following sentences, with plural and singular Agents:

- (154) *yùk^W-t ðimó:m-ti:-t* They are helping him/her.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-PL-3 *Yukwt hlimoomdiit.*
- (155) *yùk^W-t ðimó:m-t* S/he is helping him/her.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-PL-3 *Yukwt hlimoomt.*
- (156) *yùk^W-t ðimó:m-ti:-t t Máry* They are helping Mary.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-PL-3 DM M. *Yukwt hlimoomdiit (t) Mary.*
- (157) *yùk^W-t ðimó:m-[t]=s[t]Máry* S/he is helping Mary.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-PL-[3]=DC [DM] M. *Yukwt hlimooms Mary.*

In the last two examples, which are modern, the connective =S does not occur after the plural suffix, so that structures with singular and plural Agent are not exactly parallel. However, the parallel plural structure with connective as in (157) does occur in a few examples from Boas (cf. above 3.c.1.b.2.):

- (158=115) *ñi[t]=t ki:-t sa:=kú:-ti:-t=s[t]čák* Then they took Ts'ak off (120.15).
 it=NC and-3ERG off=take.s.-PL-3=DC [DM] Ts'ak *Nihl k'iit saaguudiits Ts'ak.*

As this example is more in keeping with other singular-Agent structures than the modern type as in (156), it is likely that it represents an older construction, and that the modern one is analogical to the equivalent predicate-focused construction in (164) below (there are other examples of this sort of analogy in the language).

4.b.2.b. Predicate-focused clause: Plural suffix adjunct to 3 suffix: The 3P suffix can be 'adjunct' to the 3 suffix as well, with transitive verbs or possessed nominal predicates in predicate-focused clauses. Again, in these cases analysis of this suffix as a compound of two suffixes helps to understand some peculiarities of its occurrence.

4.b.2.b.1. With transitive verb: referring to Agent:

4.b.2.b.1.a. Non-use with nouns: In a predicate-focused clause, the personal suffix refers to the Agent. The 3 suffix -t is used with the coreferring noun, whether singular or plural:

- (159) *ʔimó:m-ə-t[t]/Máry* S/he helped Mary.
 help.s.-CTL-3 me DM M. *Hlimoomit (t) Mary.*
- (160) *ʔimó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]/L ùcyt Máry* Lucy helped Mary.
 help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] L DM M. *Hlimoomis Lucy(t) Mary.*
- (161) *ʔimó:m-ə-[t]=ʔha:nàq t Máry* The women helped Mary.
 help.s.-CTL-[3]=NC women DM M. *Hlimoomihl haanak' (t) Mary.*
- (162=35) *ʔimó:m-ə-t nì:y tip L ùcy* Lucy 'and them' helped me.
 help.s.-CTL-3 me DM.PL L. *Hlimoomit níy dip Lucy.*
- (162) *ʔimó:m-ə-t nì:y t ʔixʔkì:kʷs-y* My sisters helped me.
 help.s.-CTL-3 me NC W's.sisters-1S *Hlimoomit níyhl hlixhlgikwsiy.*

4.b.2.b.1.b. Use in the absence of a noun: The 3P suffix is used only in the absence of a coreferring noun. If it is considered as a single suffix, there is a discrepancy in its use, since unlike the other personal suffixes, it is not used with the Control suffix -ə-:

- (164) *ʔimó:m-ti:t[t]/Máry* They helped Mary.
 help.s.-3P me DM M. *Hlimoomdiit (t) Mary.*
- (165=27) *ʔimó:m-ə-t[t]/Máry* S/he helped Mary.
 help.s.-CTL-3 me [DM] M. *Hlimoomit (t) Mary.*

However, considering it as two suffixes suggests that the Control suffix occurs *between* the two suffixes, and is deleted or absorbed phonologically: thus singular and plural are parallel:³⁰

- (166=164) *ʔimó:m-ti:-ə-t[t]/Máry* They helped Mary.
 help.s.-PL-CTL-3 [DM] M *Hlimoomdiit (t) Mary.*

4.b.2.b.2. Plural suffix Adjunct to 3 suffix on possessed nominal predicate:

With possessed nouns as with transitive verbs, the 3P suffix occurs only in the absence of a coreferring noun; otherwise, the 3 suffix alone indicates the possessor, whether single or plural.

- (167) *siʔkú:ʔk^Ws-t n̩i:ʔ*
 adopted.child-3 me
 S/he adopted me.
 (lit. I am his/her adopted child)
Sihlguuhlkwst n̩i:ʔ.
- (168=138) *siʔkú:ʔk^Ws-t n̩i:ʔ t Màry*
 adopted.child-3 me DM M.
 Mary adopted me.
 (lit. I am Mary's adopted child)
Sihlguuhlkwst n̩i:ʔ t Màry.
- (169) *siʔkú:ʔk^Ws-t n̩i:ʔ tip Màry qan=s[t]Pèter*
 adopted.child-3 me DM.PL M. and=DC [DM] P.
 Mary and Peter adopted me.
Sihlguuhlkwst n̩i:ʔ dip Màry gans Peter.
- (170) *siʔkú:ʔk^Ws-ti--t n̩i:ʔ*
 adopted.child-PL-3 me
 They adopted me.
 (lit. I am their adopted child)
Sihlguuhlkwstiit n̩i:ʔ.

5. Does Nisgha have a pronoun hierarchy?

The data in sections 3 and 4 above show that pronouns and nouns are not in complementary distribution, but that nouns are Adjuncts to nouns. Jelinek's argument hierarchy 1,2 > NP then is irrelevant, since it is based on an analysis which considers NP's as arguments, a position that is no longer tenable. It is however legitimate to ask whether there is a hierarchy of *pronoun* arguments.

5.a. Case of 1st and 2nd person pronouns: As described in section 2., an Agent noun, coreferring with the Ergative pronoun, occurs *before* an Object noun but *after* a 1st or 2nd person independent Object pronoun, a fact which Jelinek attributes to an argument hierarchy 1,2 > NP (1986:9). If NP's cannot be arguments, only adjuncts, the need for the argument hierarchy disappears. There is no hierarchy either among the suffix pronouns.

5.a.1. Regular clause: With this analysis, the imbalance between 1,2 and 3 Objects disappears: in both cases, there is an Object pronoun suffixed to the verb (although it is hidden most of the time) and the noun corefers with the Ergative pronoun which precedes the verb:

(171=37) *yùk^W-t ðimó:m-ý t L ùcy* Lucy is helping me.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S DM L. *Yukwt hlimoomiý t Lucy.*

(172=19) *yùk^W-t ðimó:m-[t]s[t]L ùcy* Lucy is helping him/her.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] L. *Yukwt hlimooms Lucy.*

5.a.2. Predicate-focused clause: In a transitive predicate-focused clause, only 1st and 2nd person Objects are represented by a separate word, an independent pronoun (which has secondary, not primary stress, unlike a noun Object); a predicate without overt Object is understood to refer to a 3rd person. A noun coreferring with the suffix indicating the Agent occurs after the verb-(+ 1, 2 pronoun)-phrase:

(173=29) *ðimó:m-ə-t* S/he helped him/her.
 help.s.-CTL-3 *Hlimoomit.*

(174=30) *ðimó:m-ə-[t]s[t]L ùcy* Lucy helped him/her.
 help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] L. *Hlimoomis Lucy.*

(175=32) *ðimó:m-ə-t ñi:ý* S/he helped me.
 help.s.-CTL-3 me *Hlimoomit ñiiý.*

(176=33) *ðimó:m-ə-t ñi:ý t L ùcy* Lucy helped me.
 help.s.-CTL-3 me DM L. *Hlimoomit ñiiý t Lucy.*

Whether or not there is an Object pronoun, the Agent noun (the noun coreferring with the Ergative pronoun argument) *t Lucy* is added after the verb phrase. The main difference is that a connective is used if the noun is connected to the suffixed verb, not if another morpheme, here *ñi:ý* 'me' *ñiiý*, intervenes.

Addition of the noun after the pronoun could be due to analogy with the structure of the regular clause:

R: (177=171) *yùk^W-t ðimó:m-ý t L ùcy* Lucy is helping me.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-1S DM L. *Yukwt hlimoomiý t Lucy.*

P-F: (178=176) *ðimó:m-ə-t ñi:ý t L ùcy* Lucy helped me.
 help.s.-CTL-3 me DM L. *Hlimoomit ñiiý t Lucy.*

5.b. Case of 3rd person independent pronouns used as Objects: Asking a Nisgha speaker for translations of English sentences with 3rd person pronoun Objects usually yields sentences such as:

- (179) **imo:m-ə-[t]=s[t] Lucy nít* Lucy helped him/her.
 help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] L. him/her/it *Hlimoomis Lucy nít.*
- (180) *yùk^W-t *imo:m-[t]=s[t] Lucy nít* Lucy is helping him/her.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] L. him/her/it *Yukwt hlimooms Lucy nít.*

In these clauses, the 3rd person independent Object pronoun *nít*³¹ is placed after the Agent noun, in the position of the Object noun (2.a.2.). The position of this 3rd person pronoun differs therefore from that of the 1st or 2nd person independent pronoun, which is placed after the verb, before the Agent noun. This difference between independent pronouns would seem to indicate a hierarchy 1,2 > 3.

However, such clauses are not adequate evidence, as they are the product of artificial conditions: they are oral translations of English sentences without a context, rather than answers to meaningful questions. The speaker is trying to faithfully translate the English sentence, which does contain an independent pronoun, and as well, the necessity of speaking the words slowly for the benefit of the linguist distorts the normal stress pattern which would differentiate (181) and (182):

- (181) *yùk^W-t *imó:m-[t]=s[t] Mày* Mary is helping him/her.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. *Yukwt hlimooms Mary.*
- (182=17) *yùk^W-t *imó:m-[t]=s[t] Máry* S/he is helping Mary.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. *Yukwt hlimooms Mary*

so that (181) requires the addition of the singular pronoun *nít nít* in order to make the meaning explicit (T1987a:158-9). It is not the case that this pronoun is normally present and can be omitted; rather, it is a highly marked form, normally used only in initial, focused position. In Boas' 1902 collection of Nisgha legends, use of this pronoun after a transitive verb (as in (179, 180)) is found only once in more than 200 pages, while examples similar to (181) are found on practically every page.

It is more common to encounter the plural pronoun *ńítí:t* *đidiit* in this position, as in

- (183) *ńimó:m-ə-[t]=s[t]Màryńítí:t* Mary helped them.
 help.s.-CTL-[3]=DC [DM] M. them *Hlimoomis Mary ńidiit.*

- (184) *yùk^W-tńimó:m-[t]=s[t]Màryńítí:t* Mary is helping them.
 AUX-3ERG help.s.-[3]=DC [DM] M. them *Yukwt hlimooms Mary ńidiit.*

Again, such clauses are somewhat artificial. In Boas 1902, the pronoun is not used as (adjunct to an) Object, unless preceded by a prefix or modifier as in (72) above.

The modern use of these pronouns as adjuncts to Objects parallels their use as Absolutive arguments to non-transitive predicates. Such use is hardly ever found either in Boas 1902, but it is gaining ground in modern usage under the influence of English, especially when referring to a plurality of humans (T 1987b, section 5.8.).

Equivalent sentences in more traditional usage have demonstratives instead of independent pronouns. The functional equivalence between demonstratives and independent pronouns, and the shift towards the latter, is shown as well by the use of the plural determinate marker *tip* *dip* before plural independent pronouns (T 1981: 398-9); like determinate nouns, demonstratives always occur with a determinate marker).

The modern examples with 3rd persons independent pronouns show that these pronouns are being used in place of nouns and treated like them, instead of parallel to 1st and 2nd person independent pronouns.

6. Concluding remarks:

While some superficial features of Nisgha morphology and syntax seem to show a complementarity between pronominal and lexical arguments, a variety of data show conclusively that the argument structure is underlyingly pronominal, and that there are no lexical arguments. The question of a hierarchy between pronominal and lexical arguments therefore does not arise.

Among pronominal arguments, there is no difference in treatment between suffix pronouns once it is recognized that the lack of overt occurrence of 3rd person suffixes

under certain conditions is phonologically motivated. There is therefore no hierarchy there either. The treatment of independent 1st and 2nd person pronouns does differ from that of 3rd person pronouns, but the occurrence of the latter is a still marginal phenomenon.

At a deeper or older level, then, Jelinek's analysis of Nisgħa as having a mixed lexical-pronominal argument structure and an argument hierarchy is not tenable. However, it is usually the case in languages that when underlying structures are no longer recoverable from surface features, a realignment occurs, with new morphological and syntactic relationships. The interpretation of Nisgħa syntax as having pronominal arguments rests on the recoverability of the 3 suffix *-t* in the presence of a coreferring noun. Numerous features of the Boas texts show definitely the presence of this suffix in a variety of environments and make it possible to extrapolate to other environments, but in modern data the occurrence of the suffix together with a noun is almost totally obscured, except before additional suffixes such as the postclitics. It seems then that for modern speakers nouns are indeed lexical arguments, and the presence of the suffix before postclitics is an archaic remnant or a puzzling intrusion.³² The influence of English, causing the use of independent object pronouns in the same position as nouns, has introduced another factor and a difference between 1st and 2nd person pronouns, and 3rd person pronouns, which could be construed as showing a hierarchy. For some modern speakers, then, Jelinek's analysis may be justified, but a larger view must take into account all the environments which do show the presence of the suffix, and which point conclusively to an exclusively pronominal argument structure, without a hierarchy.

In a larger perspective, Jelinek seems to consider that Nisgħa ergativity is linked to the fact that it has pronominal arguments: 'argument hierarchies, non-accusative case, and the absence of a VP node are all syntactic features frequently found in languages with pronominal arguments' (1986:15-16). This statement may be true, but the Nisgħa case shows that argument hierarchies are not a necessary ingredient of this complex of features.

NOTES

* The ancestral language of the Nisgħa /nisqá?/ [nIsGá?ª] *Nisgħa'a* people, who live in the Nass Valley of British Columbia, belongs to the Tsimshianic family. The data presented here were collected during the course of my employment with the Bilingual/Bicultural Centre of B.C. School District #92 (Nisgħa), in 1977-80, in the summer of 1982, and in 1983-88. Analytical work on the language was supported by

SSHRC doctoral fellowships held at the University of Victoria in 1981-82 and 1982-83. I have had the privilege to learn what Nisgha I know in its natural environment, from excellent speakers. I especially wish to thank, in alphabetical order, Mrs. Audrey A. Gosnell, Mrs. Nita Morven, Mrs. Rosie Robinson, Mrs. Verna Williams, all present or former teachers of the Nisgha language, and Mr. Harold Wright, who is an elder and a hereditary chief in the Eagle clan. Mr. Bert McKay, coordinator of the Bilingual/Bicultural Centre and a hereditary chief in the Frog/Raven clan, arranged for me to have access to these and other resource persons. The conclusions in this paper are my own, and I alone am responsible for any errors.

1. These sentences may surprise readers who only know French from taking it in school, where it is probable that only the grammatical but colorless *J'aime le poulet* would have been taught. Formal, literary French is a lexical argument language, colloquial French a pronominal argument language, with many speakers using a mix of argument types depending on circumstances.
2. Within the text, bold type indicates morphophonemic transcription, italics give the corresponding standard Nisgha orthography if different. Nisgha examples set off from the text are given in italics, with morphemes under discussion highlighted by bold type. Deletion of elements between square brackets is phonologically conditioned. English names are not transcribed, but stress on them is indicated.
3. The terms 'regular clause' and 'predicate-focused clause' (see below 2.b.) have been used in T 1987b in preference to Rigsby 1975's 'dependent order clause' and 'independent order clause' respectively. Boas 1911 refers to the same patterns as 'subjunctive' and 'indicative.'
4. This is a simplified account of connective occurrence, which is described more fully in section 6.2.b. of T 1987b. One complication is that the connective =**†** is the non-determinate counterpart of both the connective =**s** and the determinate marker **t**, as well as occurring before a clause in many instances. In the transcriptions below, starting in section 3., the connective =**†** is shown with the attachment marker = in its connective role, without it (just **†**) in its non-determinate marker role. Section 2, however, does not make this distinction.
5. Similar examples and analyses have been given in Rigsby 1975 and most subsequent publications on Nisgha, including Jelinek 1986. The present paper presents the justification for the pronominal-argument interpretation adopted in T 1987b, which owes much to the questions raised by Jelinek.
6. (a) Abbreviations: ASST Assertive, ATTR attributive suffix, AUX Progressive Auxiliary, CAUS Causative, CTL Control suffix, DC Determinate connective, DEF Definite Medial suffix, DM Determinate marker, DOM Dominative (called Comitative in T 1987a), DUB Dubitative, ERG Ergative, FUT future, IND indirect pronoun, INDEF Indefinite, INTS Intensive, IRR Irrealis, NC Non-determinate connective, REP Reportive, P or PL Plural, PRED Predicate, S Singular, SUB Subordinator.
- (b) Morpheme separators: - separates most morphemes, including pronominal clitics;) follows a reduplicated syllable; = separates a proclitic (adverbial) from the following element, or a connective from a preceding element; == separates a postclitic (evidential) from the preceding element.
- (c) The suffix -**t** is glossed as '3' rather than '3S' because it is undifferentiated for number. The 3rd person plural suffix -**ti:t** ...*dii*t, which consists originally of the Indefinite personal suffix -**ti**: ...*dii* and the 3 suffix -**t**, occurs only with animates, especially humans, in complementary distribution with noun-phrases (T 1986:2; see

also below 4.b.2.b.1.)

7. Evidence for the deletion of the singular Determinate Marker **t** between /s/ and another consonant (including a glottal stop) was first presented in T 1986, fn. 4. The cluster-simplification rule also operates in other environments.

8. See below 4.a.1. for exceptions to this rule.

9. T 1987a presents a number of examples showing that a single noun is much more often the Agent than the Object.

10. Examples in T 1981 and in J 1986 include the pronoun **nit** 'him/her/it' at the end of this type of clause. See below 5.b. for discussion.

11. The predicate can be preceded by modifiers and modal particles such as **FUTURE** and **IRREALIS**, but not by the auxiliaries, subordinators, etc. which usually precede the regular clause (1. above).

12. see note 10.

13. (a) The existence of this suffix (**-ə-** after consonant, **-yə-** after vowel) was first recognized in T ms. [1981], where it was called Control. In subsequent papers (T 1982-1986) it was called Ergative, since it seems to indicate that the element following it has Ergative function. In 1987 the original gloss Control (CTL) was used again. The term is still not fully satisfactory but seems suitably vague.

(b) The suffix occurs only in predicate-focused clauses, except before the 3P suffix **-ti:t** ...**diit** (Jelinek's data are incorrect on this point); this exception is not due to phonologically-motivated deletion, see below 4.b.2.b.1.

(c) The suffix does *not* enter into the Relative suffix **-(ə)t**, which is unanalyzable; cf. T 1982, fn. 15.

14. Note here the contact between /t/ and /t̥/; cf. note 17.

15. See note 10.

16. Boas 1902 is an invaluable collection of texts in the Nisgha language, gathered in Kincolith in 1894. The texts contain numerous discrepancies from present language use: some are clearly transcriptional errors, but many others represent older features. In the examples from this source given below, discrepancies relevant to the discussion have been preserved, but others have been corrected. All sentences have been retranslated directly from the Nisgha text. References are to page and line number.

17. Deaffrication is general but not automatic: it does not occur when /t̥/ precedes an Object noun, as in (28).

18. In rapid or careless speech, the suffix **-t** may be deleted by the cluster-simplification rule, see text to note 7.

19. This clause is an example of a 'free' regular clause, one occurring without an introductory word (the two morphemes preceding the predicate are modifiers, which do not affect clause status); such a clause implies the occurrence of other context, whether linguistic or extra-linguistic. Free regular clauses are often best translated as participial clauses in English.

20. This description applies to traditional usage, such as that found in the Boas texts; under the influence of English, many modern speakers keep the whole noun-phrase together.

21. The particle here translated as 'the' for convenience is not an article. Here it occurs before a headless Object-relative clause.

22. When dictating very slowly, word-by-word, many speakers omit the =[†] ...*h*/ connective especially between Agent and Object noun.

23. The Definite Medial suffix -**T**- occurs phonetically sometimes as /t/ (/tt/ after vowel and non-glottalized resonant) and sometimes as /ð/, as here; the conditioning is complex, and the realization /ð/ can cause confusion with the Control suffix. See T 1987b, section 7.2.c.1.a. for more details.

24. The context describes a children's game: they each had a stick, with which they hit another stick instead of a ball.

25. In predicate-focused clauses, the only difference, which allows identification of the predicate as a noun or transitive verb, is the absence or presence of the Control suffix -**ə**-, since only transitive verbs take this suffix.

These nominal predicate constructions also often correspond to English verbal constructions, especially with abstract words prefixed with **ha**- or **ʔan**- 'cause of ...'; as a result, some younger speakers confuse the two Nisgha constructions, and treat the abstract nominal predicates as transitive verbs, complete with the Control suffix.

26. Asked to translate the English sentence, a younger speaker might say

ʔkú:ʔ^W-(t)=s /t/ Máry ní:y
child-[3]=DC [DM] M. me

Hlguuhtkws Mary níiy.

which shows English influence.

27. The -**ta** of the plural form is an old plural suffix, now frozen. T 1983 derives the plural stem **hí**: and the singular stem **yá** from a common source.

28. This does not occur with 2nd person pronouns; the 2nd person stem is irregular as it seems to have a suffix -**ʔn**: e.g.

ʔakú mə yáʔan
what-2ERG say-CAUS??

'What did you say?'
Agu mi ya'an?

29. The suffix was first identified as originally bimorphemic in T 1983:181. However, there are also cases where the suffix should be interpreted as unitary because of more recent structural realignment (ibid. note 91b).

30. I first suggested this interpretation in T 1983: 210-211 (note 91c) but did not use it in subsequent analyses because of what appeared to be a lack of confirmatory data. Considering the -**ti**: ...*dii*' suffix as the adjunct in both regular and predicate-focused clauses provides the missing link.

31. This pronoun is itself composed of the base **ni**- 'that's ...' and the 3 suffix -**t**. All independent pronouns are originally formed on this base, but several morphophonemic irregularities show that this is not a productive process. Only with the third person singular is the base used as a predicate, as in example (95).

32. cf. in French the obligatory presence of a pronoun in questions such as

La terre est-elle bien ronde?
the.fem. earth is she well round.fem.

'Is the earth indeed round?'

and the extra -t- (analogous to the 3rd person ending of some categories of verbs) in

La terre tourne-t-elle vraiment?
the.fem. earth turns-...-she really

'Does the earth really turn?'

The extra -t- also occurs in archaisms such as in the old folk song

Malbrough s'en va-t'en guerre
M. self from.it goes-...-in war

'Marlborough is going away to war'

the modern equivalent of which would be

Malbrough s'en va à la guerre
M. self from.it goes to the war

'Marlborough is going away to war'

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FELIDAE AC HOMINIDAE

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The aim of this paper is to discuss two sets of words in Salishan languages. They are, respectively, terms for native cats (the Family Felidae) of British Columbia and the Northwestern U.S. and the set of words glossed variously 'person, Indian, man' (of the Family Hominidae). There is no connection between the two sets of words, so that in effect there are here two separate papers. Transcriptions are normalized throughout the paper for recent material, but left in their original form for older material lacking recent attestation.

Felidae

There are three species of cats native to this region: *Felis concolor* (usually called cougar locally, but also known as mountain lion, and--usually elsewhere--as puma or panther), *Lynx canadensis* (the lynx), and *Lynx rufus* (variously called bobcat or wildcat). There are three subspecies of cougar recognized for the area, two of bobcat, and one of lynx; these subspecies differences have no effect on native nomenclature. The three species will be discussed separately in the order lynx, bobcat, cougar to facilitate presentation. For information on range and classification of these animals, the following sources were consulted: Banfield 1974, Burt 1961, Cowan and Guiguet 1978, and Hall 1981. All contain maps showing distribution, although they are not equally reliable; Burt and Hall, in particular, tend to blur the limits of ranges.

1. *Lynx canadensis*. For our area, the lynx has the most limited distribution, being primarily an animal of the north. However, in the west its range extends (or once extended) at least to southern Oregon, but excluded the area west of the Coast Range in Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia north to Bute Inlet or so (and thereby also excluding Vancouver Island; the Queen Charlotte Islands had no native cats at all). In spite of these limitations in the range of the lynx, some sources (particularly Boas) give words glossed 'lynx' for Lower Chinook, Kathlamet Chinook, Lower Chehalis, Quinault, Lummi, Nooksack, and Nanaimo Halkomelem. Although the Nooksack may have known the animal from hunting in the Cascade Mountains, the others are not likely to have had direct contact with it, so I will treat all these instances as mislabelled (comparative evidence also suggests that these names properly refer to the bobcat). On the other hand, names for the lynx in Sechelt, Squamish, and Chilliwack Halkomelem cannot be dismissed; these three groups could easily have been acquainted with this cat from hunting in the mountains to the east of their areas of residence.

Few of the Salishan names for lynx appear to be old, and most are either analyzable or borrowed (see Table 1). Beginning in the north, the first Bella Coola word is patently a loan from neighboring Wakashan languages (see Table 2), where the name is analyzable as meaning "big tooth" (Nater 1977:64). The other form, given in Boas 1926, is apparently misglossed; Nater (1977:52) gives q^ouc'i k 'wolverine'. The Sechelt form is unanalyzable, and does not look Salish; on the other hand, there are no obvious sources as a loanword either. According to Kuipers, the Squamish form means 'spliced ear'; he says "the name has reference to the large tufts on the ears" (1969:95). Of the two Chilliwack Halkomelem forms given by Galloway (1980:64), he labels the first "probably", and the second "in stories". The first is, in fact, probably borrowed from Lillooet, where the form clearly has the suffix for 'ear'; lacking an analytical dictionary of Lillooet, I cannot identify the first part (but cf. Thompson cúq^o - 'extend, lengthen, add to'; Thompson and Thompson n.d.). Galloway's second form, with a final k does not look particularly Halkomelem, although no source presents itself. Gibson (1963) has a form glossed 'lynx' for Quinault; the form must have been made up for him, as there would be no lynx in that area; it looks as if the word has to do with 'cry' (cf. Upper Chehalis śə'úm 'cry'). Thus there are no coast forms for lynx that contribute to reconstructions.

Turning to the interior, there are three sets of forms beside the Lillooet form already discussed (and which has no other cognate in Salish). The Fountain Lillooet, Thompson, and Shuswap forms do have cognates, but none meaning lynx: Columbian smiyáw (also used by some Colville speakers), Spokane (although not Kalispel) smyéw, Coeur d'Alene smiyíw, and Lushootseed sbiyáw all meaning 'coyote', and Pentlatch sməyáw 'beaver'. The form must go back to Proto-Salish as something like *sməyáw; what the meaning would have been is unclear, given this very odd range of meanings. There is a better candidate for both 'coyote' and 'beaver' in Proto-Salish, so this could either have been 'lynx' (if this animal was in Proto-Salishan territory) or merely 'smallish animal'. The Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead form (although Thomason glosses the Flathead form as 'bobcat') is complex; presumably the *s* and *n* are prefixes, although the rest of the form is unidentified. Since this form occurs in only one language, it contributes nothing to reconstruction. The final set is the one which occurs in Columbian, Colville, and (according to Boas 1925) Spokane. If this is indeed Salish, and not a folk etymology of a borrowing, it can be analyzed as meaning "hairy feet". This would recognize one of the two most distinctive features of the lynx, the other being the tufted ears (which is the feature recognized in Lillooet and Squamish).

Table 2 shows words for 'lynx' in neighboring non-Salishan languages. The Northwest, Tygh, and Warm Springs Sahaptin dialect forms (all from Hunn 1979), if not attributable to Proto-Sahaptian, may well be borrowed from Salishan languages to the north, but without their 'foot' suffix. The Columbia River Sahaptin form does not quite match, although it could nevertheless have the same origin. Also belonging to this set is the Cayuse form glossed by Henshaw (1888; taken from Rigby 1969) as 'cougar, wildcat' (see Table 4). The Rock Creek Sahaptin and Nez Perce forms for 'lynx' correspond to words for 'bobcat' in other dialects.

2. *Lynx rufus*. Although the bobcat occurs throughout our area in the northwestern U.S., there is some inconsistency about its occurrence in B.C. Burt (1961:55) shows it extending only a short distance into B.C. in the Cascade Mountains and the interior, Banfield (1974:353), Cowan and Guiguet (1978:337), and Hall (1981:1053) all show it up to Bute Inlet on the B.C. coast, and in the interior well north of Prince George, and thus in Carrier territory. It does not (and did not) occur on Vancouver Island. In spite of this attested range, I find no record of native names for the bobcat in Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, or Sliammon (among the Salish), Kutenai, or any Athabaskan language.

Cognates for a Salishan word for 'bobcat' occur in all the languages south of Colville and Lushootseed, hence in Interior Salish, Central Salish, Tsamosan, and Tillamook (see Table 3). This form can be reconstructed as *p'ək'əm, with all developments regular except the change to final *n* in Spokane and Coeur d'Alene (and perhaps some of the stress shifts). This form was borrowed into several dialects of Sahaptin (see Table 4), and even modified in the Rock Creek dialect to a form meaning 'lynx' (i.e., "bobcat-like"). The Squamish form is also probably derived from this same source, although the *l* is unexplained, possibly analogical; Kuipers notes that Louis Miranda was uncertain about the form (1969:56).

The Sechelt form is borrowed from Wakashan words meaning 'lynx' (see Table 2). The Nanaimo Halkomelem, Nooksack, and Lummi forms glossed as 'lynx' (all from Boas 1925) are (were) probably much the same as the Chilliwack Halkomelem 'bobcat' form from Galloway (1980:63). Given this distribution it is a local development, although I can offer no analysis. The Clallam form from Gibbs (1863:14), also glossed 'lynx' (but given the correct Latin name) is isolated, and I can do nothing further with it. The third Lower Chehalis form is probably mis-glossed, although I do not know what it should be.

The final set of Salish forms are among the most interesting. These are the ones occurring in Tsamosan: the second Lower Chehalis form (given by Boas 1925 as 'lynx') and the alternate Upper Chehalis form. The Lower Chehalis form must be from a northern dialect of that language where a *w* might have shifted to a voiced stop, as in neighboring Quinault. It is not possible to tell if the *g* in this form is merely a glide from the uvular fricative to the following *j* or if there was actually a vowel there; both would be satisfactory readings. I have never considered the Upper Chehalis form analyzable, but the glottal stop could be the marker of 'diminutive' (causing lowering of the *u*), and this final *-us* could be the lexical suffix for 'face, eye'. That, however, is speculation. Now, Mike Nichols has called to my attention that the Comparative Salishan Vocabularies of Boas (1925) list two forms that resemble these Tsamosan forms: Pentlatch xa'íuas and Comox xau'gas, both given for 'grizzly bear' (he also gives a similar form for Sechelt; Ron Beaumont specifically denies this form, and it is probably a case of a misfiled slip--other such misfilings are known in Boas' materials). Larry Thompson also recorded Sliammon as having xáwgas for 'grizzly bear', and the Pentlatch form can be retranscribed as xáywas. The Pentlatch form in particular resembles the Tsamosan forms--in fact is a perfect match if the Upper Chehalis form is indeed diminutive and the second vowel of Pentlatch is actually a schwa. The Comox form does not match as well, but is clearly related (at least to the Pentlatch form). In Comox, *w* regularly changes to *g*^o and *y* to *j*, so the correspondence here is odd--where does the *w* come from? The fact that the *g* is palatalized rather than labialized may be the answer. The serious problem in this "correspondence", however is not in the forms, but in the meanings. Could the Tsamosan forms be an old Salishan etymon that changed by diminutivization from 'grizzly bear' to 'bobcat'? If these similarities do constitute a proper correspondence, they suggest a Proto-Salish *xáywús. One final note: Bob Levine tells me that the

Haida form for 'grizzly' is $x\acute{u}ʔa\check{j}i$, and that this probably derives from $*x\acute{u}ʔas-i$.

Outside Salish in the Northwest no forms for 'bobcat' are available to me from Athabaskan languages or Kutenai. The Makah form (see Table 4) is a recent coinage based on the reduplicated form of a loan ($p\acute{i} \cdot \check{s}-$), although Makah territory is regularly shown on maps as within the range of the bobcat. I cannot explain the Nez Perce form; I have no idea what is intended by Aoki's gloss 'civet cat'; it is probably not really 'bobcat'. The Nez Perce form for 'lynx' is obviously cognate with the Umatilla, Wanapum, and Palouse (Sahaptin dialects) forms. The three Chinookan forms are cognate, even though the Kathlamet and Lower Chinook forms are glossed as 'lynx' (these languages were spoken outside of that animal's range). I have also listed in Table 4 forms from Alsea, Siuslaw, Kalapuyan, and Takelma which look as though they share some common ancestry.

3. *Felis concolor*. The cougar had the widest range in the Northwest of any of the native cats. It occurred throughout Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and western Montana (except possibly in some of the more desert-like areas), and in British Columbia both in the interior and on the coast as far north as Tsimshian areas. A distinct subspecies (*F.c. vancouverensis*) occurs on Vancouver Island, and is the only native cat there.

There is more variety in words for 'cougar' than there is for 'bobcat'. Some of the alignments within Salish are irregular, however, and preclude the reconstruction of a Proto-Salishan word for 'cougar'. The data suggest that there was one, although it would appear to have been subjected to various sorts of onomatopoeic and analogical reformation. The original form was also completely replaced in several areas; I will discuss these first (see Table 5).

Bella Coola and Tillamook each has a word for 'cougar' that appears unanalyzable and isolated. The Pentlatch and Sechelt words are derived from a root $k^o\acute{a}q-$ that occurs in Comox (Timmers 1978a:26) and Sechelt (Timmers 1977:33 and 1978b:31) meaning 'scream' and in Squamish (Kuipers 1969:77) meaning 'bellow'. This designation of the cougar therefore means something like "screamer". The form found in Halkomelem could have originated either there or in Straits (perhaps the former, since it is not attested for mainland Straits dialects), and means "long-tail". The other Straits form, attested for Saanich and Samish, as well as Clallam, is also complex; however, its analysis is not clear to me. This is also the case for the Twana form, which Boas also recorded as occurring in Clallam; the velar ejective is not usual for either of these languages, although the form looks Salish.

Moving to the interior, the Spokane-Flathead form is a compound, the first half of which means 'big'. The second half was seen earlier under 'lynx': these dialects did not shift the meaning of this morpheme to 'coyote' (like Coeur d'Alene and Columbian), but retain its feline (?) reference in this compound for 'cougar'-- "big lynx". The Thompson-Shuswap word for 'cougar' is cognate with that in Sliammon, where the s prefix is lost and the stressed vowel is reduced (alternatively it could have been rounded in Thompson and Shuswap between labials). The discontinuity of these cognates is interesting, and suggests some antiquity for this etymon. On the other hand, its continuity is broken only by Lillooet, which may well have the same form, but confused with the more general Salishan word for 'cougar'; only the first w differs from the Thompson-Shuswap form. All the remaining Salishan words for 'cougar' may be somehow cognate, but do not yield to reconstruction. The j 's of Comox and Sechelt, the y 's of Lillooet and Squamish, and the schwas of Chilliwack, Straits, and Lushootseed contrast with the a 's found everywhere else; only Chilliwack, Lummi, and Songish prefix $\check{s}x^o-$ (or sx^o-); Columbian and Colville have pharyngeals for one of the consonants (although not in the same place); Colville and Coeur d'Alene lack reduplication; and glottalization varies greatly. Presumably, as noted earlier, onomatopoeia has played a role in the shaping of these words for 'cougar'.

There is just as much lack of uniformity outside Salish (see Table 6). Just as the Makah word for 'bobcat' is a derivative based on a loanword, so is the Coast Tsimshian word for 'cougar'. Dunn translates this form as meaning literally "forest cat"; the first part, $du \cdot s$, is the word for 'housecat', and is from a European language via Tlingit. Jay Powell (p.c.) reports an analogous form for Gitksan, namely $duusm sbag\acute{a}tgan$ 'cat of the wild woods', although it was identified as a bobcat; he also recorded $g\acute{i}l\acute{e}x$ 'bobcat', meaning "from on high". Neither of these forms is on Table 6 because of uncertainty of their true meaning; there should be no Gitksan term for 'bobcat', an animal not occurring in their territory. The Carrier form is also interesting, since it too is a complex form, meaning literally "big cat". The bus portion is the part that means 'cat', and may be a loan-- the same loan that occurs in the Tsimshian forms from Tlingit. The Heiltsuk form may be imitative, according to Rath, and is glossed as 'big forest cat'. Three different varieties of Kwak'waka show three different words for 'cougar', and none matches the Heiltsuk word. The Kutenai word is apparently borrowed from (if not cognate with) Salish. The Palouse Sahaptin form differs significantly from the rest of Sahaptin, but is surely related, and Lower Chinook, in a striking discontinuity in both space and relationship, corresponds closely to these same Sahaptin forms. The Cayuse form, as noted earlier, looks like 'lynx' forms to its north, and may be misglossed. The only other clear connection among the 'cougar' forms in Table 6 is between the two Kalapuyan entries.

4. In conclusion, it can be seen that names for at least two cats, the bobcat and the cougar, can be traced back to Proto-Salish, although the word for cougar cannot be reconstructed. The lynx is more problematical; it is marginal to much of Salishan territory, and where it is best established--in the Lillooet-Thompson-Shuswap area--a name occurs that can be reconstructed to the proto-language, although it cannot conclusively be shown to have meant 'lynx'. The other observation to be made from these data is the importance of looking at the Northwest as a linguistic area, rather than looking only at, say, Salish for comparative-historical purposes. The interrelationship between Salish and Sahaptin is particularly strong, but there has also been borrowing between Salish and Kutenai, Salish and Wakashan, Sahaptin and Chinook, and there are various sorts of still mysterious connections among the western Oregon languages.

Kuipers (1982) reconstructs three cat names, one each for 'bobcat' and 'cougar', and one which he glosses 'feline, coyote'. For 'bobcat' he gives *p'k'əm (1982:75, item 7.1). My only disagreement is that I would add a ə between the first two consonants to account for the vowel in Tsamosan forms; an unstressed ə there requires an underlying and non-epenthetic ə.

Kuipers reconstruction of 'feline, coyote' is *s-myaw (?) (1982:76, item 13.3). I agree with his reconstruction of the form, but remain uneasy about the meaning. I doubt that it should include 'coyote'; it may be 'lynx', or may be something more general.

For 'cougar' Kuipers reconstructs *ʃ^o/waʔ (1982:89, item 126.9). This suggests uncertainty about the initial consonant since a pharyngeal-w correspondence is not usual. I choose not to reconstruct this form at all because of the probable interference of onomatopoeia in its development, although it must certainly go back to Proto-Salish.

Hominidae

Salishan words for people present a number of rather complex but interesting problems. The words I have in mind are those usually glossed 'person', 'Indian', and 'man' (I am not considering 'people' itself, since this is ordinarily the plural of one of the other forms). Some of the languages distinguish these three concepts by using three different words, while others combine them in various ways. There are ten to twelve sets of forms involved, plus another half-dozen isolated items. It is in fact possible to reconstruct up to five forms to Proto-Salish (or much of it), which is already too many for the three semantic concepts under review. Another six forms can be reconstructed for parts of a single branch or for a small group of neighboring languages. However, it is only the forms that can be reconstructed; their specific meanings are so entangled that it may not be possible to sort them out.¹

The relevant data are given in Table 7. This table contains a great deal of information, and a few explanatory notes are necessary. Dialects, as well as languages, are listed at the left, and abbreviated again at the right. Each column represents a single set of cognates, except that columns 1 and 7 may include some non-cognate material, as will be discussed below. Blanks within an entry are of no morphological significance; I have tried to align all cognate segments within each set (except for certain prefixal or suffixal material that is extraneous to the basic form). An equals sign is used to mark the beginning of lexical suffixes, a hyphen separates other morphemes, including roots in a compound. After each citation, the letters p, i, m, w, r, or x are given in italics; these indicate the gloss(es) for that item (for which there was not room on the table without cluttering it up beyond all practicality): p = person/people, i = Indian, m = man, w = warrior, r = relative. Any other meanings are subsumed under the x as follows (given by language and column): Bella Coola 11 'mortal'; Songish 1 'human'; Songish 5 'hero'; Songish 6 'male, husband'; Samish 6 'husband' for the first and 'male' for the second; Clallam 2 'tribe'; Lillooet 8 'ghost'; Thompson 7 'distant relative'; Shuswap 7 'friend'; Shuswap 9 'soul'; Columbian 9 'dwarf' (with extra material on both ends); Kalispel 8 'husband'; Kalispel 9 'human being'; Coeur d'Alene 5 'friend'; Coeur d'Alene 8 'male'. Specific credit is not given to my sources for each form, although it should be simple enough to deduce them, and all sources are cited under References.

Forms

I will now proceed to say something about each cognate set. In general, discussion of the reconstruction of meanings will be left for later because of the special difficulties in sorting out how these have developed and changed. Two lexical suffixes are involved in five sets: *-mix^o and *-mix, and either may be augmented with *-al-. The meanings of these two suffixes was (and is) similar, but they are clearly distinct morphemes, and are attested in many derivations and correspondences.

¹I would like to thank the students in my seminar on Comparative Salish (Fall 1987), especially David Millard, for suggestions that led to the recognition of some of the correspondences discussed here.

1. The relationship between the Straits, Clallam, and Lushootseed forms for 'person, Indian' are rather obvious, although the different beginnings are not explainable. It is not clear what the function is of the $\text{ʔac-}/\text{ʔac-}$ in Clallam and Lushootseed, or why it is not present in Straits. There is not even good synchronic evidence to segment it away from the rest of the form. The Squamish form has lost even more of the first part of the word; if correctly analyzed here, all that remains of the root is ɬ and there is reason to think that even that may actually be an old suffix. The other correspondences within Central Salish are regular, probably excepting stress shifts, which are poorly understood in any case.

Set 1 becomes much more interesting when Tsamosan is brought into the picture. I had never thought there was a Tsamosan cognate for this set until I recently worked out in detail some historical and morphophonemic changes within Upper Chehalis. Having done that, the Tsamosan forms fall neatly into place, and are quite regular developments. Some of the Tsamosan forms look quite different because they are old compounds. I can give no analysis of the first element of the Quinault form. Lower Chehalis, as well as the second form given for the three Upper Chehalis dialects and Cowlitz, all begin with a piece derived from náwa- 'big, old'. The first vowel remains in Cowlitz because it is in an open syllable, but is deleted in the other languages because it is in a closed syllable (this is a regular feature of Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz); then the w between vowels becomes u . The relationship between the Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz forms was never clear to me from Upper Chehalis evidence alone, and became evident only after recognizing the relationship of the rest of the word to the Lushootseed, Clallam, and Straits forms.

The first of the three Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz forms simply have s before the ɬt of the root, where the vowel loss is unexpected. Where there is a hyphen given at the end of the form, the vowel before the last consonant will be deleted when nothing further is added (this again is an example of a vowel being deleted in a closed syllable). The delabialization of a final x (which then develops to ɬ) is fairly regular in Tsamosan. Finally, an l is usually lost before another consonant, particularly m . (As a result of these changes, it should be obvious that Proto-Salish $-\text{mix}^0$ and $-\text{mix}$ have fallen together in Tsamosan.)

The third of the Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz forms may not belong with this set, but I suspect they do. In these it is the ɬ of the stem that is missing (it may actually be an old suffix; note that a root-final ɬ is also absent in some of the forms in set 8--it may be the same suffix). The fact that the l is voiced here would then suggest that the Proto-Salish root should be $*\text{ʔil-}$, and the devoicing of the lateral would be due to the following ɬ . The last j is again regularly lost when the next consonant closes the syllable (and in Cowlitz stress shifts to the first vowel in this case); what is irregular is that the a remains before the ensuing consonant cluster. The function of these various affixes (the prefixed s- , the suffixed $-\text{ɬ}$) is not clear, although they did serve to create forms with different meanings.

Boas 1927 gives yet another Upper Chehalis word that at first appears to belong to this set: ʔisnawfɬumš 'shamans'. The root is indeed the same, although the vowel of the suffix is wrong; in fact, a different (but related) suffix is involved, this one being connected with one of the plural suffixes (the initial ʔi- is another plural affix). I cannot account for the stressed j here, though, and this word may have undergone analogical reshaping.

2. Halkomelem replaced the word from column 1 with two words, those given in columns 2 and 3. The original meaning of the first of these is unclear, although it may have been something like the current Clallam meanings, 'relative, tribe'. Note that Halkomelem and Nooksack (where the form is probably a loan from Halkomelem) have lost the initial syllable. Since Lillooet is the only Interior Salish language with a cognate for this word, it seems probable that Lillooet borrowed it from neighboring Halkomelem, but before the initial syllable loss. This form can be reconstructed for the Clallam-Straits-Halkomelem area (possibly including Lillooet) as $*\text{ʔux}^0-\text{ál-mix}^0$.

3. The third set of forms, although only found in four languages, must have some antiquity, given their distribution--half in coastal Tsamosan and half in northern Central Salish. I reconstruct this set as $*\text{s-tíʔix}^0$ or $*\text{s-tíyix}^0$, and assume that the initial m in Halkomelem is either an old prefix or analogical with something unidentified; this seems more likely than that the m was lost independently in Nooksack and Tsamosan. The second m in Cowichan is almost certainly analogical with the suffix of the first two sets of forms, and the ɬ of Musqueam may have the same origin. The original meaning is not clear, however.

4. The three forms in column 4 are a localized development, even though they occur in different branches of Salish. The meaning of the original root $*\text{ɬəw-}$ is not clear, and none of the similar morphemes in these or neighboring languages is convincingly related. To account for the Twana form, it must be assumed that the suffixes go back to $*-\text{mix}$, rather than the $*-\text{mix}^0$ that occurred in forms in columns 1 and 2.

5. The forms in column 5 can be reconstructed as $*\text{s-túmix}$, with lowering of the first vowel and reduction or loss of the second being completely regular (as is loss of the s- prefix in Comox). Glottalization of the m in Coeur d'Alene

is probably secondary. Palatalized, rather than labialized, χ at the end of the Nooksack form is unexpected. This would at first appear to be an old Central Salish form for 'man', but the Coeur d'Alene entry indicates that it goes back to Proto-Salish. Perhaps even then the meaning was 'man'. It was replaced, however, by the words in column 6 in Squamish, Halkomelem, Nooksack, Straits, and Clallam, with the meaning of the original word shifting to 'warrior'.

6. The words in column 6 are a localized development in the middle part of Central Salish, not reaching the three northern or the two southern languages of this branch. A Central Salish form might be reconstructed as $*s-w\acute{e}y'qa'$, meaning 'man'; I know of no cognates elsewhere.

7. The forms in column 7 have the most remarkable distribution of all the words referring to people. Occurrence of nearly identical forms in Tillamook, Twana, Thompson, and Shuswap only certainly precludes any chance of borrowing, and a Proto-Salishan $*s-tim'at$ is obvious. Shuswap has lost glottalization from the m and reduced the first vowel. The original meaning is not clear, however, since each of these four has a different meaning: 'person', 'man', 'distant relative', and 'friend'. However, the plural of the Shuswap form is $s-tm-tém'at-n$; this both gives a Shuswap reflex with glottalized m and a meaning closer to the Thompson cognate, and suggests that the Proto-Salishan meaning may have been 'relative', although the first vowel is wrong. The Colville, Flathead, and Coeur d'Alene forms may not belong with this etymology, in spite of the $tVm-$ root and the similar meaning. The root of these forms is probably from $*tam-$, with the wrong vowel to be cognate with the Thompson, etc. forms, and lacking the final $-at$. In fact, this root is more likely cognate with that in Columbian $sktámqn$ 'relatives' and $natámtn$ 'child's spouse's parent'. The suffix on the Coeur d'Alene form is not the same as that on the Flathead and Colville forms given; Colville does have a form with a cognate suffix: $tm=fw's$ 'be relatives'.

8. The forms in column 8 again show interesting distribution, occurring throughout the interior (absent only in Thompson) and in Comox-Pentlatch-Sechelt. It is conceivable that this form diffused from the interior over the mountains into Sechelt and Sliammon, and this hypothesis might be supported by the fact that it is the neighboring (northern) interior languages that lack what is probably a \underline{t} suffix. However, Lillooet retains this stem only in the derived form given, meaning 'ghost'. A Proto-Salishan (or possibly only Interior Salishan) reconstruction is straightforward: $*s-qal(')-t=mx^0$. All developments into the modern languages are normal, except for the second Shuswap form, where the vowel of the suffix is not what is expected.

It is interesting to note that the distribution of these forms is entirely complementary to those of column 1, and that the structure of the two sets of forms is similar. Both take reflexes of the ending $*-mix^0$, and both have the possibility of a suffix $-\underline{t}$ attached to the root. The forms in set 8 lack the linking suffix $-al-$.

9. The forms in column 9 can be reconstructed only for Interior Salish: $*s-qálix^0$. The second vowel is variously reduced or lost; indeed, it is surprising that it is ever retained in this position when unstressed, suggesting that it may be an underlying y . The second Kalispel form suggests that this is not so; the reason for the shifted stress on this recording is also unexplained, but Vogt makes it clear that this is not the primary Kalispel version. The first part of the Thompson and Shuswap forms is also unexplained, although there seems little question about these words belonging here. The whole Columbian form involved here is $ncma' sqfltx^0tn$, meaning 'dwarf'. This is a compound, the first half of which is 'plural small objects', and the final $-tn$ is 'implement, object'. The remainder has an extra \underline{t} and (most importantly) the vowel is not the expected cognate vowel for Columbian; it should be a . Since the vowel is wrong, the stem may be borrowed from neighboring Colville, and the \underline{t} added analogically (with set 8 forms?). Alternatively, this may be a fortuitous similarity.

A possible connection between sets 8 and 9 is also apparent, but not easily maintained. A relationship between the two would require that the final $-ix^0$ of set 9 be a suffix, although I am unaware of a Salishan suffix of this shape. Note, in this regard, however, that set 3 has a similar ending, and all these words are in the same fairly narrow semantic space.

10. The final set is the pair of forms that occurs only in Columbian and Coeur d'Alene (column 10). The two are not contiguous, but this must be a local development (with connecting forms lost in Spokane and Colville).

11. The six forms in the last column are isolated, without cognates referring to people. The second Bella Coola word might appear to align in part with the forms in column 3, with the addition of an initial consonant. However, I know of no instances of this consonant occurring as a prefix. In any case, the similarity is not significant; the Bella Coola form is cognate with words in Comox, Pentlatch, and Sechelt meaning 'house'; cf. Comox $\lambda'ém$ s (Timmers 1978a:19), Sechelt $\lambda'émstan$ (Beaumont 1985:254, Timmers 1977:17), Pentlatch $s\lambda'émstan$ (Boas 1886). The Bella Coola change from \underline{n} to a is regular. No connections for the other left-over forms, however, can be made at this time.

Meanings

The probable meanings of the proto-forms for each column are difficult to determine. I take it as a working assumption that a language will have no more than three words for 'person', 'Indian', and 'man'. This is obviously not necessarily true, and it is also possible that there may be only two words to cover these meanings--the position I will adopt for Proto-Salish. This means that of the ten sets of forms, some originally meant something other than they do now. Examining the distribution of meanings leads to few obvious and certain answers; however, at least one possible scenario can be offered.

Distribution is one criterion for favoring one etymon as being older than another: if a set of forms occurs in more than one branch of the family (especially if the cognates are not from adjacent languages), it is probably older than a set that occurs entirely within one branch. For these 'people' words, only three branches are relevant, since neither Bella Coola nor Tillamook contributes to reconstructed forms (for Tillamook 'person' see below). Three sets occur within a single branch--6, 9, and 10; these are then probably innovations within the branch, probably with some other original (and no longer recoverable) meaning. Two other sets, 2 and 4, occur in two branches, but in 2 Lillooet may have borrowed the form from a neighboring Central Salish languages, and in 4 there is certainly a spread from Tsamosan to Twana or the reverse; neither set is therefore likely to be very old. This leaves sets 1, 3, 5, 7, and 8. I will suggest that sets 5 and 7 originally had other meanings, reducing the ten sets to three as candidates for the original meanings of 'person', 'Indian', and 'man'.

The extreme complexity of the development of forms in set 1 suggests considerable antiquity for this etymon. On the other hand, its distribution is in complementary distribution with set 8, and I see no clear criteria for deciding which of these is the original form meaning 'person, Indian'. If the Comox, Pentlatch, and Sechelt form of set 8 are loans from the interior, then clearly set 1 is the older. In any case, both sets can be reconstructed as meaning 'person, Indian', thus combining two of the three meanings into one form. Both sets commonly have both meanings for the one form in the modern languages. Tsamosan, in particular, has split the meanings by creating new derivations of the same original stem. Many of the interior languages have shifted the meaning of set 8 forms to 'man', attaching the original meanings to a (single) different word, that of set 9.

At least three sets (3, 6, 9) seem to have the basic meaning 'man'; I suggest that 3 is the original for this meaning on distributional grounds. It occurs in two widely separated areas (coastal Tsamosan and HalkomelemNooksack), whereas the other two sets are confined to a contiguous area within one branch. Both may originally have had other meanings, but what it was cannot be determined. Later, set 5 forms replaced set 3 forms throughout Central Salish for the meaning 'man', and Halkomelem and Nooksack then used the form from set 3 for the meaning 'person' (see below). Later still, set 6 forms came into the middle part of Central Salish, replacing set 5 forms as 'man', and these set 5 forms took on the meaning 'warrior'. I do not mean to suggest that a form was abandoned without meaning, and then found something to attach to, but that it took on additional meaning (in this case 'man' plus 'warrior'), then a new form took over part of the meaning from the old form.

Set 9 is problematic, although I suggest here that it also originally meant 'man'. The problem is that my scenario suggests an *exchange* of meanings between sets 8 and 9 for some languages, although that is clearly unlikely. Note, however, that Thompson, Shuswap, and Columbian use the set 9 form to derive something else, and only Colville, Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead, and Coeur d'Alene give it the meaning 'person, Indian'.

Set 2 forms replaced set 1 forms in Halkomelem, Nooksack, Songish, and Clallam, and then spread further to Lillooet (with only the meaning 'person'). Halkomelem, Nooksack, and Songish then narrowed the meaning to 'Indian' alone, using set 3 forms for 'person'. The original meaning of the set 2 proto-form is uncertain.

Sets 4 and 10 are very local replacements of sets 1 and 8. Twana replaced the whole meaning of set 1, while Quinault and Lower Chehalis used the new form only for 'Indian'. In the interior, Columbian and Coeur d'Alene share a new form for 'Indian, person'.

Although the original meaning of several forms is unclear (both of analyzable forms like 2 and 4 or unanalyzable stems like 6, 9, and 10), meanings can be suggested for the proto-form of sets 5 and 7. Since the meaning 'man' in 5 appears to be a replacement for an even older word for 'man', perhaps the Coeur d'Alene meaning 'friend' is a retention of the original meaning. Similarly, the Twana and Tillamook forms in set 7 must have replaced earlier forms for, respectively, 'man' and 'person', so the Thompson and Shuswap meanings 'relative' may well be old.

All these suggestions of original meanings and semantic shifts are clearly highly speculative. They are offered here merely as suggestions; further information may help to refine them.

Reconstructions

I have given reconstructions for forms as I went along, and will not repeat them here. It remains to point out that Kuipers (1982) reconstructs only two of the ten sets of forms discussed here--or three, since he combines my sets 8 and 9. For my set 5, he reconstructs *s-təw-mix 'man, friend' (Kuipers 1982:77, item 22.2). The reason for əw rather than u is unclear, since none of the present-day forms have this; it may be to provide a reasonable CVC root so that -mix could be considered the familiar suffix. I assume, on the contrary, that the correct reconstruction is *s-túmix, and that rather than dividing the stem, it may be that a form such as this is the *origin* of the lexical suffix -mix. This line of reasoning follows the proposals of Egesdal (1981) that lexical suffixes originated as truncations of old stems.

Kuipers also reconstructs *qal-mix^o 'person' (1982:86, item 94.3). To support this reconstruction, he cites the forms from my set 8 from Comox, Sechelt, Lillooet, and Shuswap, and the Kalispel form from my set 9. I discussed the possibility above of a connection between these two sets, but prefer to keep them apart because there is too much unaccounted for if they are combined.

Certainly my various reconstructions do not have the same time depth; some indeed are limited to a single branch of Salish, or even to a restricted area within a branch (or, in the case of set 4, across a branch boundary). This small lexical domain of 'people' words provides an interesting set of forms with a variety of interrelationships, and shows how semantic change can make semantic reconstruction very difficult when the meanings are closely related. One must assume semantic mergers and splits, shifts of meaning and lexical innovation. As is so often the case with reconstructions--both phonological and semantic--our conclusions must remain tentative, awaiting improvement with the addition of new information and discoveries.

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Bella Coola (Sliammon) Sechelt Squamish Chilliwack Hl					walasya (HFN), q'ō't'sik (FB)
Quinault					múlik (RCB, JT)
Lillooet					ʔúcani (AHK)
Fountain Lillooet	səmyéw' (JvE)			čó·wq'əle (BG)	sc'áyk (BG)
Thompson	s myéw' (LCT)			θú· k'èle (JGH)	
Shuswap	s myéw' (AHK)				šʉʔúmšʉʔum (JAG)
Columbian		wépwap x n (MDK)			
Colville		wápw p x n (AM)			
Spokane		u pu psxín (FB)	s nq cú† (BFC)		
Kalispel			səŋqəcú (HV)		
Flathead			səŋq cú (SGT)		
(Coeur d'Alene)			'bobcat'		

Notes: The last column contains non-cognate, residual forms.
 Languages for which no form is reported, but where one might be expected, are parenthesized.
 Spaces are left within words only to align cognate sounds.
 Old spellings are left unchanged; recent transcriptions are normalized.
 Parenthesized initials represent sources given under References.

TABLE 1. Lynx (Salish)

Tlingit			gàq (N&S)
(Coast Tsimshian)			
Nass-Gitksan			wé·x (H&R)
(Haisla)			
Heiltsuk	ʔwá lasya (HFN)		
Kwak'wala	ʔwá·lasxæ (HFN)		
	wá lasxεʔ (DMG)		
(Babine)			
Carrier			wasɪ (FA)
(Chilcotin)			
(Kutenai)			
Nez Perce			qæhæp (AP)
Rock Creek Sahaptin			pč'mwá·kuɬ (EH)
Northwest Sahaptin		ʔú pʔu p (EH)	
Tygh Sahaptin		ʔu pʔú p (EH)	
Warm Springs Sahaptin		ʔú·pʔu·p (EH)	
Columbia River Sahaptin		xú pɣu p (EH)	
Cayuse		hú-p u p (HWH)	
(Kiksht)		'wildcat, cougar'	
(Molala)			

TABLE 2. Lynx (Non-Salish)

(Sliammon)				wálaksya (RCB)
Sechelt				wálaks (JT)
Squamish	sp'láč' m (AHK)			
Nanaimo Hl			sq ts'ā'mVs (FB) 'lynx'	
(Musqueam Hl)				
Chilliwack Hl			sqə c'ó məs (BG)	
Nooksack			kets ā'mus (FB) 'lynx'	
Lummi			.skots ā'mas (FB) 'lynx'	
Clallam				tsát-sats (GG) 'lynx'
N Lushootseed	p' éč'əb (TH)			
S Lushootseed	p' č'əb (TH)			
Twana	p' č'əb (NT)			
Tillamook	h č'əw' (LCT)			
Quinalt	sp' éč əm (RM)			
Lower Chehalis	p' əč'əm' (MDK)	xaygō's (FB) 'lynx'		pk'əl'əc' (MDK)
Satsop	p' ač'əm' (MDK)			
Upper Chehalis	p' ač'əm' (MDK)	x iwó's (MDK)		
Cowlitz	p' éč' m (MDK)			
(Lillooet)				
(Thompson)				
(Shuswap)				
Columbian	p' ék' m (MDK)			
Colville	p k'ám (RB)			
Spokane	p' íč n' (BFC)			
(Kalispel)				
(Flathead)				
Coeur d'Alene	p' éč' n' (LGN) 'bobcat,lynx'			

TABLE 3. Bobcat (Salish)

Makah					pípi·šk'uk'w (AMR)
Quileute					daʔí·daʔat (JVP)
(Chemakum)					
(Babine)					
(Carrier)					
(Chilcotin)					
(Kutenai)					
Nez Perce		qəhæp (AP) 'lynx'			k'aʔlí·ctiʔmay' (HA)
Umatilla Sah	p č'ím (EH)	qá ·p (MJ,EH)			'civet cat'
Wanapum Sah		qá ·p (MJ,EH)			
Palouse Sah		qé ·p (EH)			
NW, ColR Sah	p č' m (EH)				
NW, NE, ColR Sah	pič'im (MJ,EH)				
Yakima Sah	pič' m (EH)				
(Cayuse)					
Kiksht			i p kwá (ES)		
Kathlamet			i-pukua (DH) 'lynx'		
Lower Chinook			-puk (FB) 'lynx'		
(Kwalhioqua)					
Alsea				y ə q u (LJF)	
Siuslaw				hī' q w (LJF)	
Tualatin				aník w (MJ)	
				yē' k wa' (LJF)	
(Santiam)					
Takelma				y ã khw (ES)	
Molala					ṭáwint (ESC)

TABLE 4. Bobcat (Non-Salish)

Bella Coola

Sliammon

mə́gə (LCT)

Comox

g íy'g iy' (JT)

Pentlatch

Sechelt

s w ē' w i (FB)

Squamish

ns w ú ?w u (AHK)

Cowichan

xʷλ'ə́qtənəc (E&S)

Musqueam

xʷλ'ə́qtənəc (E&S)

Chilliwack

šxʷəw ə́ w ə (BG)

xʷλ'ə́qtələc (E&S)

šxʷ ə́ w ə (BG)

s w ə́ w ə (BG)

Nooksack

s w a ?w a (LCT)

Saanich

xʷλ'ə́qt nəč (TRM)

(Sooke)

Songish

sx ǝ' u a (FB)

xʷλ'ə́qt nəč (MRM)

Samish

λ'ə́qt nəč (BG)

Lummi

sxʷ ə́ w ə ? (LCT)

Clallam

N Lushootseed

s w ə w á ? (TH)

S Lushootseed

s w ə́ w ə ? (TH)

Twana

Tillamook

Quinault

g wə́ ? ə (JAG)

c w á ? a (JAG)

Lower Chehalis

s w' á ?w ə ? (JPH)

Satsop

s w á ·w a (MDK)

Upper Chehalis

s w á ·w a (MDK)

s w á ?w a ? (MDK)

Cowlitz

s w á w a ? (MDK)

Lillooet

s w ú w'e (JvE)

Thompson

smúwe? (LCT)

Shuswap

smúwe? (AHK)

Columbian

s ʕ'wá w'a ? (MDK)

Colville

s w'áʕ' (AM)

Spokane

(Kalispel)

Flathead

Coeur d'Alene

s w'á ? (LGN)

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TABLE 5. Cougar (Salish)

Bella Coola		suk'wptus (HFN)
Sliammon		
Comox		
Pentlatch		s k'wáq'ən (FB)
Sechelt		sk'wəq'k'wəq'am (RCB, JT)
Squamish		
Cowichan		
Musqueam		
Chilliwack		

Nooksack		
Saanich	k'wəyəčən (TRM)	
(Sooke)		
Songish		
Samish	k'wəyəč n (BG)	
Lummi		
Clallam	k'wəy čən (LCT)	k owī'ts ap (FB)
N Lushootseed		
S Lushootseed		
Twana		k'əwə c'ap (NT)
Tillamook		taʔia'ciL (FB)
Quinalt		
Lower Chehalis		
Satsop		
Upper Chehalis		
Cowlitz		
Lillooet		
Thompson		
Shuswap		
Columbian		
Colville		
Spokane		skʷtis myéw (BFC)
(Kalispel)		
Flathead		skʷtisəmyé (SGT)
Coeur d'Alene		

(Tlingit)			dù·smgʷrlháwli (JAD) 'cougar, bobcat, lynx'
Coast Tsimshian [Hartley Bay, Metlakatla, Prince Rupert]			
(Nass-Gitksan)			
(Haisla)			
Heiltsuk			máuxʷmauxʷs (JCR)
Kwak'wala [Ft. Rupert]			bédi (DMG, JVP)
[Quatsino]			mám'isa (DMG, JVP)
[Kingcome Inlet]			qísqəqəən (DMG)
(Nootka)			
(Nitinaht)			
Makah			háý-aed (JGS)
Quileute			widáxʷc'i? (JVP)
(Chemakum)			
(Babine)			
Carrier			busčo (FA)
(Chilcotin)			
Kutenai			swa? (LRM)
(Nez Perce)			
Sahaptin [NW, Tygh, Celilo, Wanapum]	k'wáyawí (MJ, EH)		
[Columbia River]	k'wa ·wí (EH)		
[Palouse]	q'wáyamá (EH)		
Cayuse			hú-pup (HWH) 'cougar, wildcat'
Kiksht [Klackamas]			ilíwna (MJ)
(Kathlamet)			
Lower Chinook	-k'oáyawa (FB)		
Kwalhioqua [Willapa]			ni-ná-tǐ-li (ESC)
Alsea			məqalpaʔt (LJF)
Siuslaw			ʔĩčət (LJF)
Tualatin Kalapuya		anhúʔč (MJ)	
Santiam Kalapuya		hámhu š (MJ)	
Takelma			hũlkʰ (ES)
Molala			q'úyq'aws (BJR), ɰwe-ǎ-wi (ESC)

TABLE 6. Cougar (Non-Salish)

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	1	2	3	4	5
Bella Coola					
Sliammon					túməš m
Comox					túmiš m
Pentlatch					
Sechelt					s-túmiš m
Squamish	s-	t=é1 -m əx ^w pi			s-tám š w
Cowichan		x ^w é1- məx ^w i	məstíməx ^w p		s-táməš w
Musqueam		x ^w é1- məx ^w i	məstéyəx ^w p		s-táməx ^v w
Chilliwack		x ^w é1- məx ^w i	məstíyəx ^w p		
Nooksack		x ^w é1- məx ^v i	stí'ix ^w pi		
Saanich	?	ət=é1 -ŋ əx ^w pi			
Sooke	?	ət=éy -ŋ əx ^w pi			
Songish	?	ət=é1 -ŋ əx ^w pix	ʔəx ^w =é1- ŋəx ^w i		s-táməš x
Samish	?	ət=é1 -ŋ əx ^w pi			
Lummi	?	ət=é1 -ŋ əx ^w pi			s-tóməš w
Clallam	ʔəc	t=áy -ŋ əx ^w pi	ʔəx ^w =áy-əŋəx ^w rx		
N Lushootseed	ʔác	iŋt=al -b ix ^w pi			s-túb š m
	ʔác	iŋt=ə b ix ^w pi			
S Lushootseed	ʔác	iŋt=al -b ix ^w p			s-túb š m
Twana				ʔúw =al -bəš pi	
Tillamook					

Quinault kʷɪt ɪt=ál -m ixʷ p
 Lower Chehalis n u- t=ál' -m əš p
 Satsop s- t=á -m š m
 n u- t=á -m š p
 ? íl =a -m š i
 Oakville Chehalis s- t=á -m iš- m
 n u- t=á -m š p
 ? íl =a -m iš- i
 Tenino Chenalis s- t=á -m x m
 n u- t=á -m x p
 ? íl =a -m x i
 Cowlitz s ít = -m ix- m
 naw- ít = -m' x pm
 ? il = -m íx- i

stíʔixʷ m təgʷ =əl -mič i
 stí xʷ m təw ' =ál' -məš i

Lillooet ʔuxʷ=el- mixʷ p

Thompson

Shuswap

Columbian

Colville

Spokane

Kalispel

Flathead

Coeur d'Alene

s-túm'š x

6	7	8	9	10	
				ʔimlk m	Be
				ʌ'msta px	
		qáyʔ = mix ^w	pi		Se
		qáy = mix ^w	pi		Cx
		s-qál = mix ^w	pi	šəwáθ m	Pt
		s-qál = mix ^w	pi		Se
s-w íʔqa m					Sq
s-wáyʔqe m					Cw
s-wáyʔqe m					Ms
s-w í·qə m					Ck
s-wíyəqə m					
s-w íʔqaʔ m					Nk
					Sa
					So
s-wáyʔqe mx					Sg
s-wáyʔqəʔ mx					Sm
s-wáyʔqaʔ mx					
s-w íʔqə m					Lm
s-wáyʔqaʔ m					C1
					NLd
					SLd
s-tibʔát	m				Tw
s-tiʔwát	p			t'iyéʔu(?) m	Ti
				ʔewíwi i	

Qn Lo Ss

Lo

55

OCH

Tch

C2

s-ti [?] mét	x	s-qél = max ^w =ul' x ^w x	s-qéy' x ^w m	s-qáy' x ^w m	séytkmx pi	Li
						Th

sh s-tə mət x s-qəl' =əm x^w m s-ʔ'1'-s-qəl'ex^w x

$$p_i \mathbf{x}_i' = \mathbf{1} \mathbf{e}_i'$$

s-qel't= m'x ^w	m	-s-q'iltx-x	s-k'int pi	Cm
---------------------------	---	-------------	------------	----

$$s\text{-}q\text{ }1\text{ }t = \max_m s\text{-}q\text{ }1\text{ }x^w\text{ }p_i$$

s-q l t = m'x^w m s-q'elix^w p'i sp

s-qal t=emlx^w mx s-qé'lix^w ix ka

s-ta m =el' is r s-qel t=emix'w m s-q'elix'w p1

$$s\text{-}q_{11}'t = m \times w \quad m \times s\text{-}c_{int} \text{ } 1$$

23rd International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages
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**COLOR CATEGORIES AND COLOR QUALIFIERS
IN HALKOMELEM, SAMISH, LUSHOOTSEED, NOOKSACK, AND YAKIMA**

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Introduction

This report will describe and compare data concerning color categorization and color naming from the following Northwest Pacific linguistic groups: Halkomelem dialects Tait, Chehalis, Chilliwack, Sumas, and Cowichan; the Samish dialect of Northern Straits Salish; Nooksack; Skagit dialect of Lushootseed; Yakima (Northwest Sahaptin). All but Yakima are Central Coast Salish languages. Halkomelem and Lushootseed express color nuance by modifying lexical roots with intricate systems of qualifiers.

Halkomelem is divided into three dialect groups (Galloway 1977, Gerdtz 1977), Upriver, Downriver, and Island, each with distinct but slight differences on phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels. There are two remaining fluent speakers of Samish (and perhaps two younger semi-speakers). MacLaury and Galloway together did the tests with speakers of all the remaining Upriver Halkomelem dialects (Tait, Chehalis, Chilliwack, and Sumas/Matsqui), and with the oldest living speaker of Lushootseed (Skagit dialect). We also attempted the test with the last partial speaker of Nooksack (aged 94), but were only able to do the rice mapping (procedure 3 in Table 1 below) with four color terms (only two roots). Galloway did the color test with one fluent speaker of the Cowichan dialect of Island Halkomelem, who, however, turned out to know only a few of the color terms. Galloway also did the test with the only remaining monolingual speaker of Samish (Samish-b). MacLaury did the tests with Yakima and with Shuswap (fig. 0d).

Data presented here advance the effort to survey indigenous color categorization in the Pacific Northwest with standardized, replicable measurement (MacLaury 1986, 1987a).

As in the prior reports, discussion is prefaced with condensed review of data collection and display. In August 1987, both authors worked together to formally interview individual informants according to three independent procedures of elicitation, each based on direct stimuli of 330 Munsell color chips. Procedures and stimuli are fully described in MacLaury (1987a: Note 2). Table 1 outlines the three procedures and the orders of data resulting for each:

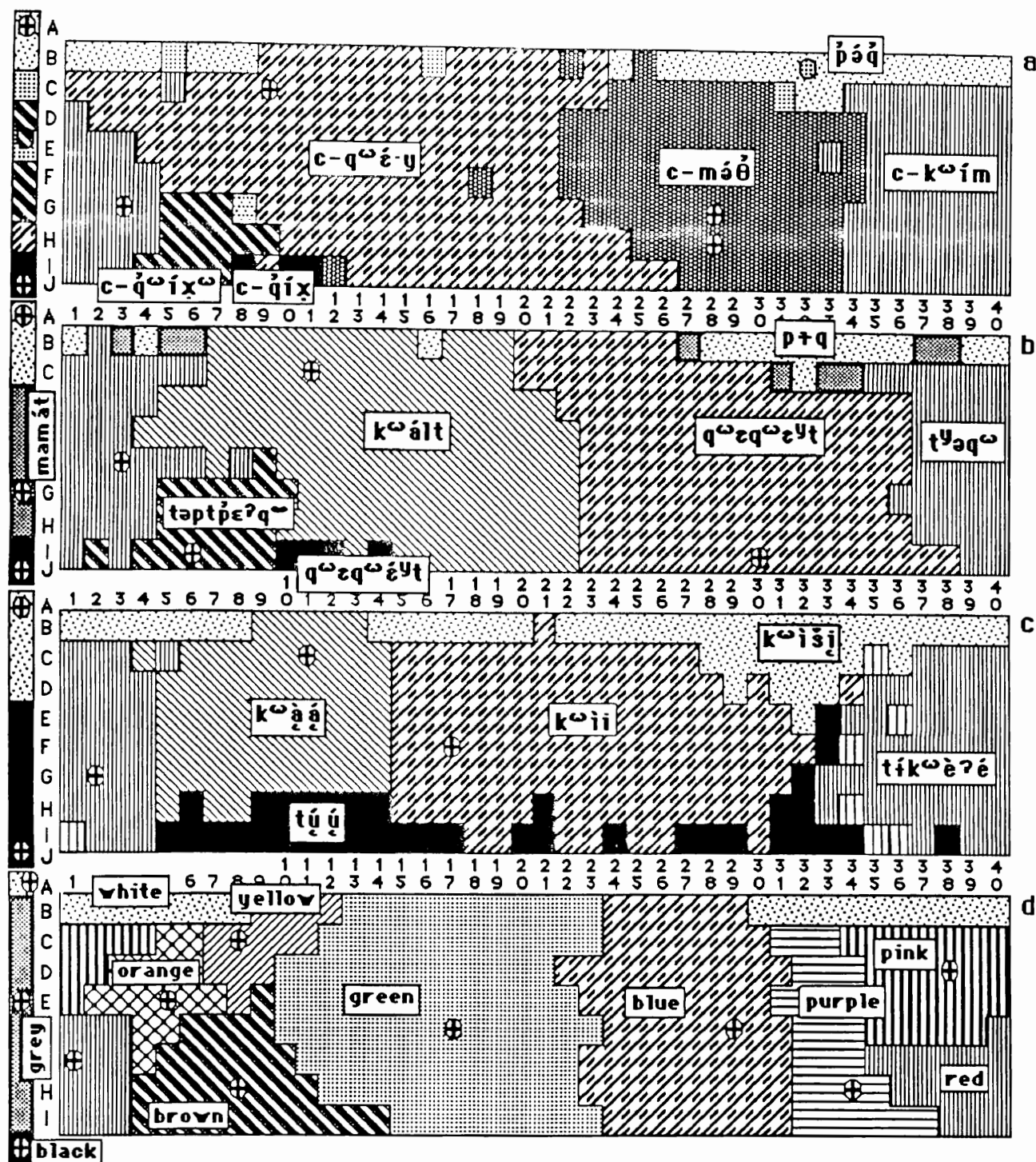


TABLE 1

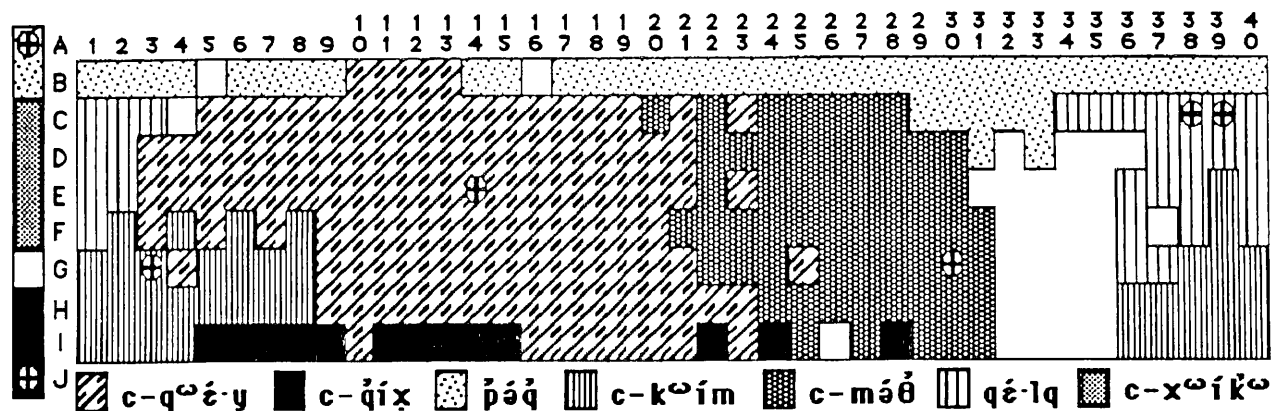
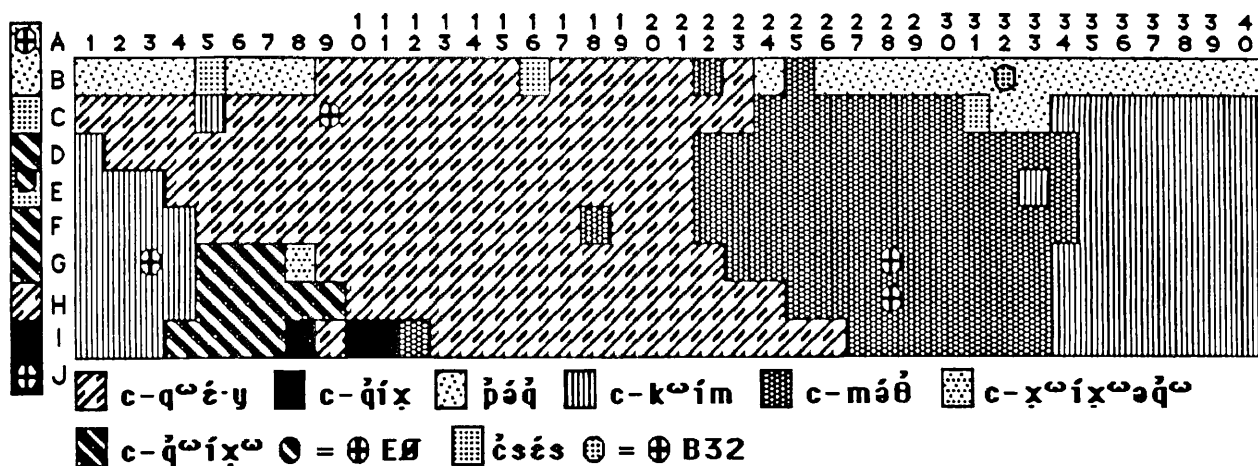
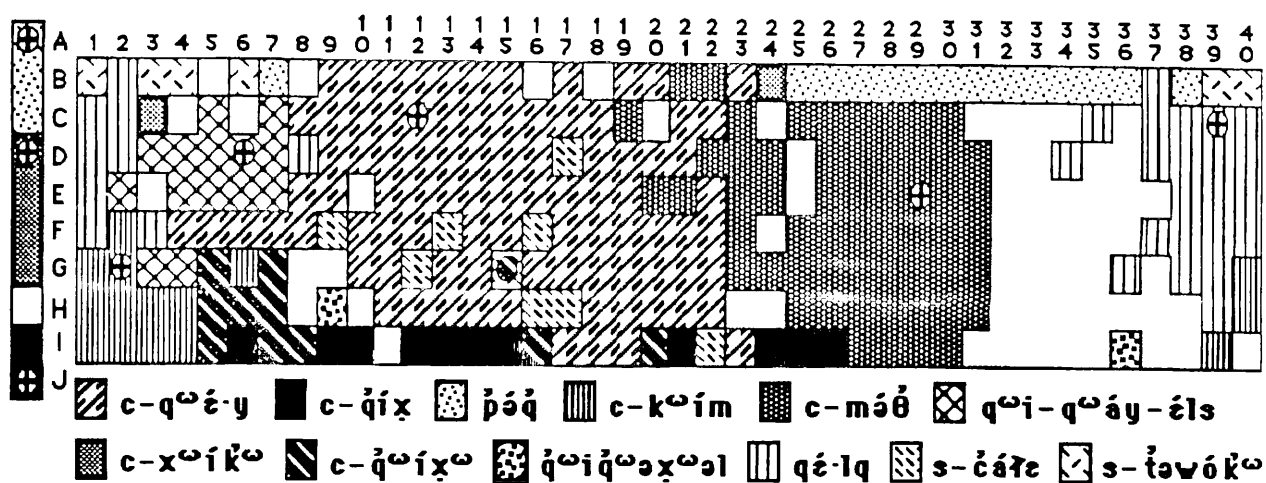
<u>Procedures</u>	<u>Data</u>
1. Naming. 330 separate color chips are named in a fixed random order.	1a. Naming Ranges of color-term roots. 1b. Modifiers of roots.
2. Focus Selection. A "best example" of each term is chosen from an array of the 330 chips.	2. Foci.
3. Mapping. Each term is mapped on the array with rice grains, usually in steps in response to repeated requests to map all of X-term.	3a. Mapping Ranges. 3b. Mapping Steps within mapping ranges.

Correspondence between different data from an individual verifies their accuracy.

Figures 0a-d present derandomized naming ranges and foci in the format of the Munsell array. The unnumbered column at left displays white-grey-black and columns 1-40 display prismatic hues from left to right, lightest at top and darkest at bottom. The break between columns 40 and 1 is artificial, as hue composes a circular band. Row A (represented by one chip) is entirely pure white on the mounted array used for focus selection and mapping (Table 1, 2 and 3), while row J (represented by one chip) is entirely pure black on the display. Figure 0d provides the English-speaking reader with a reference by which to gauge the Munsell system and to assess how other languages have named it. Figure 0a shows naming ranges of an Upriver Halkomelem speaker and Figure 0b of a Shuswap speaker; both name all of yellow and green with one term. Figure 0c shows naming ranges from a speaker of Mixtec, an Otomanguan language of Mexico, which provides an indigenous case for comparison outside the Pacific Northwest; the Mixtec names all of green and blue with one term.

UPRIVER HALKOMELEM

Roots. Figures 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, and 6a show naming ranges of color-term roots in five Halkomelem dialects. The sample of six individuals is too small to allow distinction of individual from dialectal differences. All name both yellow and green with one term, except the Cowichan speaker. The latter could not remember names for most colors, and she named blue with the cognate of the term with



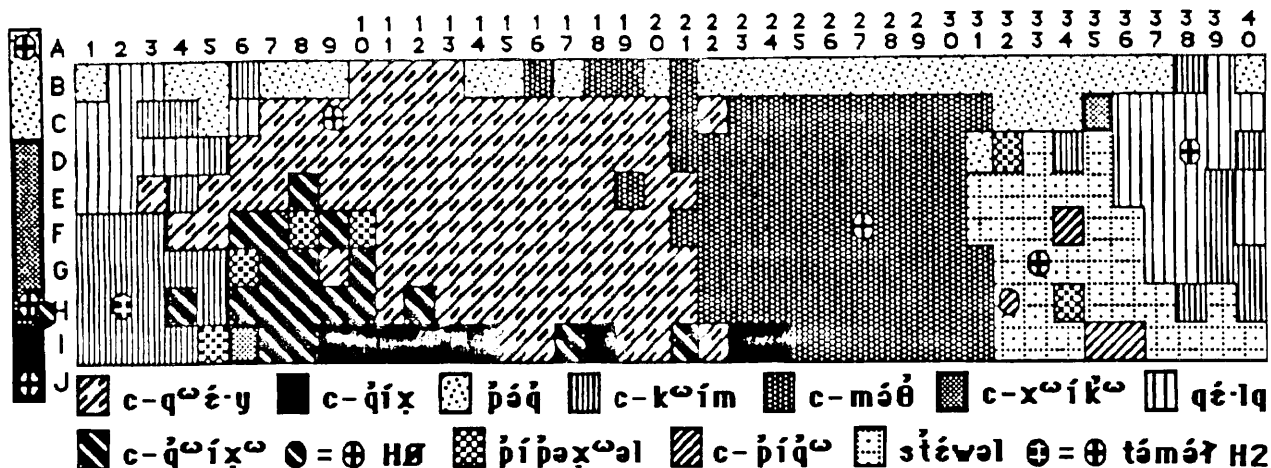


Figure 4a. Halkomelem color-term roots, Chilliwack dialect, speaker NP, age 80, 1987.

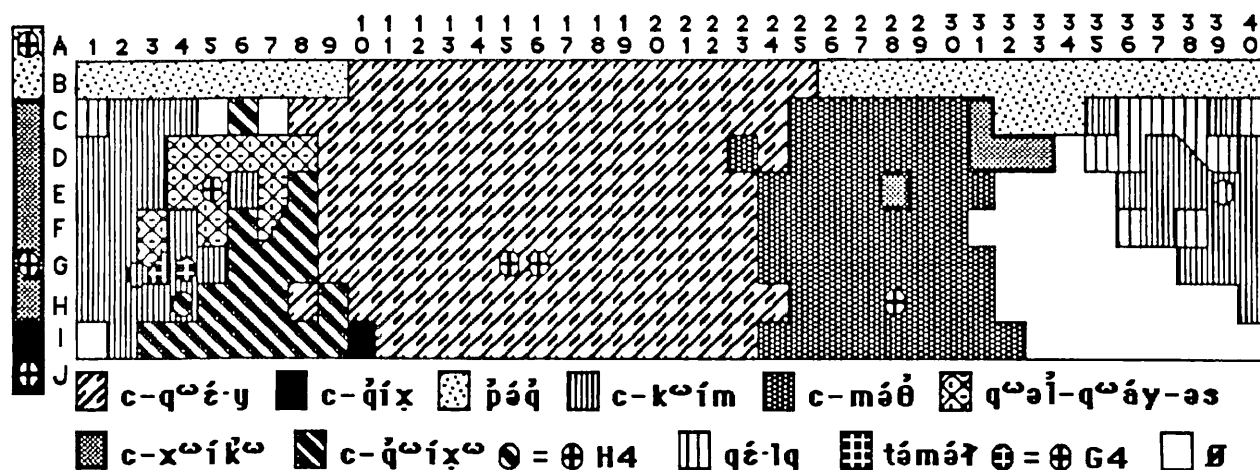


Figure 5. Halkomelem color-term roots, Sumas dialect, speaker AH, age 80, 1987.



Figure 6. Halkomelem color-term roots, Cowichan dialect, speaker EU, age 60, 1987.

which the other Halkomelem speakers named yellow-with-green. Elmen-dorf and Suttles 1960:15 give Cowichan and Musqueam dialects /cq^wáy/ 'green' (Chilliwack /cq^wá.y/) and Cowichan and Musqueam /səl[?]éləč/ 'yellow' (Chilliwack /səl.éləč/); so more speakers of Cowichan must be tested to confirm the use of the former term for 'blue'. (/səl[?]éləč, səl.éləč/ may be related to the Upriver Halkomelem /lələč/ '(have) jaundice, bile trouble' (perhaps with /s-/ 'stative' and /hə-/ 'continuative'?)). We did not obtain /səl.éləč/ as a color term word.)

Regarding the Cowichan speaker's use of /c-q^wáy/ for 'blue', an interview done 12/5/64 by Oliver Wells with Bob Joe (BJ), one of the most knowledgeable speakers of the Chilliwack dialect then alive, has recently been transcribed verbatim from the tapes. When asked the word for green, BJ said it is the same as the word for blue. Later he gave /cməθ tə swéyəl/ 'The sky is blue.' BJ was born about 1881 and trained as a tribal historian.

In Figure 0b, the Shuswap speaker also names blue with such a cognate, not yellow-with-green. (The spellings of the Shuswap forms are given phonetically on the chart. Phonemically Kuipers 1974 shows /ciq^w/ 'red', /piq^w/ 'white', /q^wyq^wiy-t/ 'blue, purple' (root /q^wey - q^wiy/, /k^wal-t/ 'yellow, green' (the -t is 'state', i.e. stative), /təp-tép-t/ 'dark' (from stem tēp-t 'dark'), and /mĕ-mēf-t/ 'grey' (root /mēf/, /ĕ/ is pharyngeal stop).

The Cowichan and Shuswap data (and the comment of BJ) together suggest that 'blue' was an original meaning, and further data from Shuswap (MacLaury 1986) and other Salish languages (Kinkade 1988) suggest that the cognates also meant 'green' at an earlier time, a usage similar to Mixtec of Figure 0c. Later the Tait, Chehalis, Chilliwack, and Sumas speakers of Halkomelem retracted the term from blue and extended it to yellow, preserving the original 'green' sense. None of the data suggest which Halkomelem term named yellow before the putative extension.

The speakers of Figures 1a, 3a, and 5a could not name purple. The speaker of Figure 2a named purple with terms focused in blue (G-H 28) and in red (G3); the speaker of Figure 4a named purple with two unique terms, /s(-)tēw-əl/ and /c-píq^w, s-píq^w/. Surprisingly, /c-píq^w/ (with modified forms /s-píq^w/ and /s-pí[-pə-]q^w-əl/), is cognate with the Nooksack root in /pəq^w-píq^w/ (attested once as 'yellow?' (LT:GS), once as 'green' with a comment that the same word [root?] means 'dark blue' in Chilliwack Halkomelem). The same root was also reported in Nooksack /č-píq^w/ 'yellow' (PA:GS 1.26) (beside Upriver Halkomelem /s-píq^w/ 'yellow' from the same speaker 1.10) and in Nooksack [pí.q^wələ.nox^w] probably /píq^w-ələnox^w/ 'autumn, when leaves turn yellow' (PA:GS 1.10). This root is also cognate with one in Squamish, as in /pəq^w-píq^w/ 'yellow, a kind of paint found in the mountains'.

Another root appears at I5, G6, F8 and F10 (tan shades), only in inceptive forms, /pípəx^w-əl, s-pípəx^w-əl/. It is unclear

whether the root is /píxʷ/ with 'continuative reduplication' or /pəxʷ/ with prefixed 'diminutive' reduplication. There is a word /píxʷ/ 'to leak (as of a canoe)' which seems unrelated (note its continuative /pí[-pə-]xʷ/ 'leaking').

A few of the words used as color terms have meanings outside color terms: /sčáɬ/ 'leaf', /qélq/ 'rose flower, rose hip', /s-təwókʷ/ 'diatomaceous earth or clay (used as a whitening for dog wool for weavings and as a powder for paint' (could this be related to the root in /s-těw-əl/ 'purple?'), /kʷú·l/ 'gold' (< English), /xʷíxʷəkʷ/ 'grayish blueberries, prob. oval-leafed blueberry (*Vaccinium ovalifolium*)' (derived from the color term apparently, not vice versa), /čsés/ 'ashes', /témél/ 'red clay of iron oxide used for religious paint and face paint, ocher', /pčélqəl/ 'mountain goat (*Oreamnos americanus americanus*)'.

Qualifiers. Each Halkomelem speaker uses a different inventory of qualifiers to denote shades of color within a category. Qualifiers here are unbound and preposed adverbially to the root that names the category; or they are bound to the root as prefix, suffix, reduplicative prefix or infix, vocalic ablaut, or extra vowel length. The term qualifier is not meant as a new syntactic or semantic category for the language, merely used as a convenient term for things semantically modifying the color term words.

The Tait speaker of Figure 1a (AK) used qualifiers, but she alone modified roots with other roots, as an English speaker would say 'greenish blue'. The qualifiers she used show considerable sophistication and may actually pinpoint the colors more precisely than any other strategies. More on them below. Figs. 1b-d

The Tait speaker of Figures 2b-c (TG) used bound qualifiers to name colors that are light or marginal to red-focused, grey-focused and yellow-with-green categories. She used unbound qualifiers to distinguish light and dark in all categories.

The Chehalis speaker of Figure 3b (EB) used only bound qualifiers, including vowel length, which designate marginal colors in most categories. One modified form, represented as A, pertains to orange colors within the yellow-with-green category; the speaker of Figure 1a uses the same form to name 'orange' as an autonomous category apart from yellow-with-green.

The Chilliwack speaker of Figure 4b (NP) shows the most extensive variety of qualifiers among the six individuals, but she uses unbound forms at only H14, G21, and I22. The profusion of forms obscures patterns among meanings, although the figure shows that some are confined to one or another category-margin; note, for example, the variant of the 'orange' term (A). This speaker has been a dedicated teacher of the Halkomelem language in Chehalis schools for 20 years.

The Sumas/Matsqui speaker of Figure 5b (AH) uses qualifiers similarly to the speaker of Figure 2b, although with some distinct forms. In Figure 5a, she focuses a unique 'orange' term at E5, and in Figure 5b she uses the widely shared term A at C8 as a modified

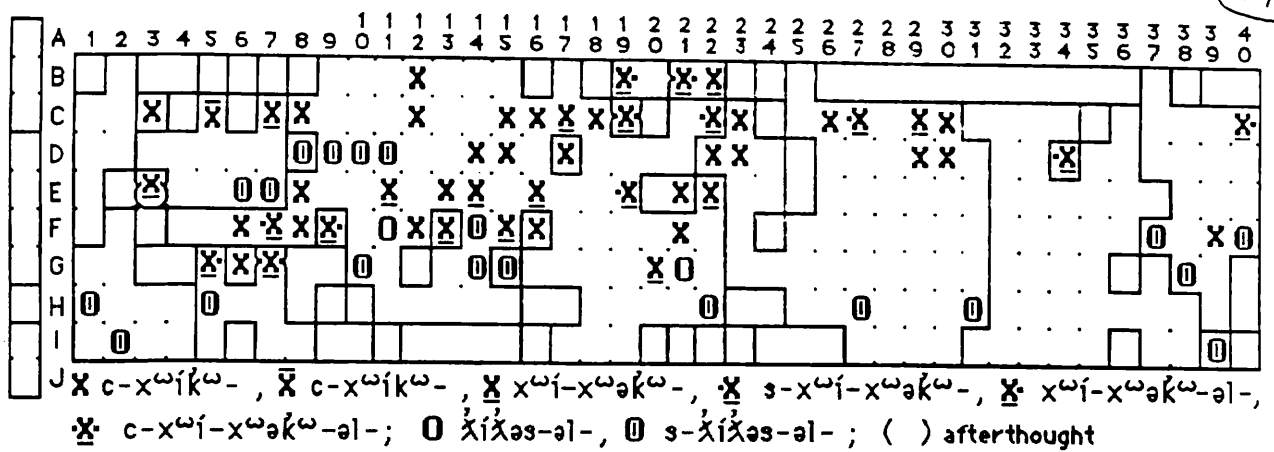


Figure 1b. Unbound preposed color modifiers, Halkomelem, AK as in Figs. 1a,c-d.

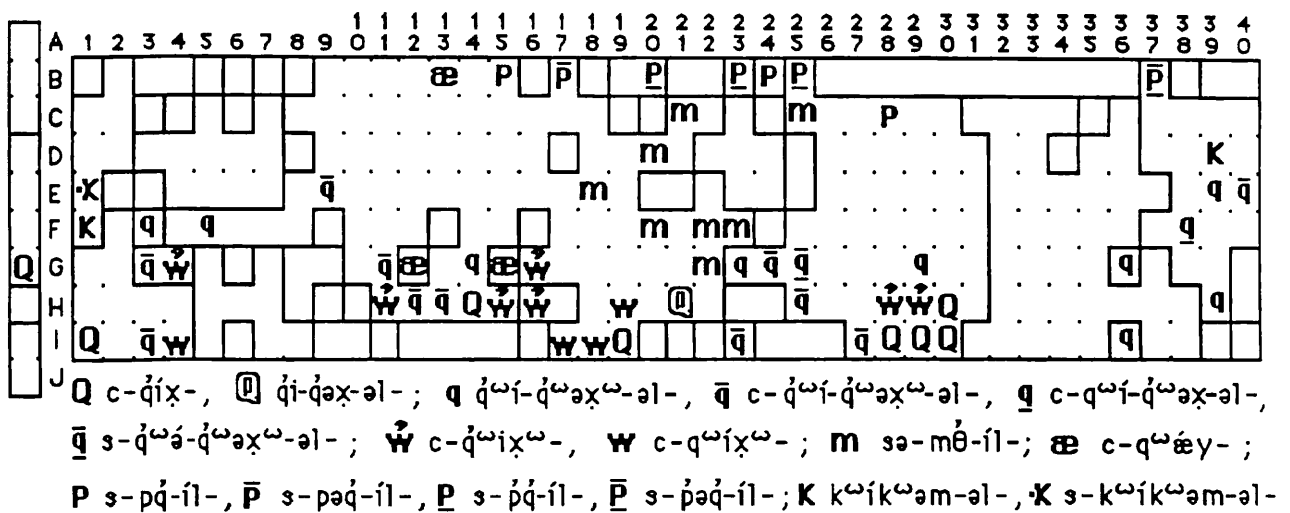


Figure 1c. Unbound preposed color modifiers; Halkomelem, Tait dialect, AK.

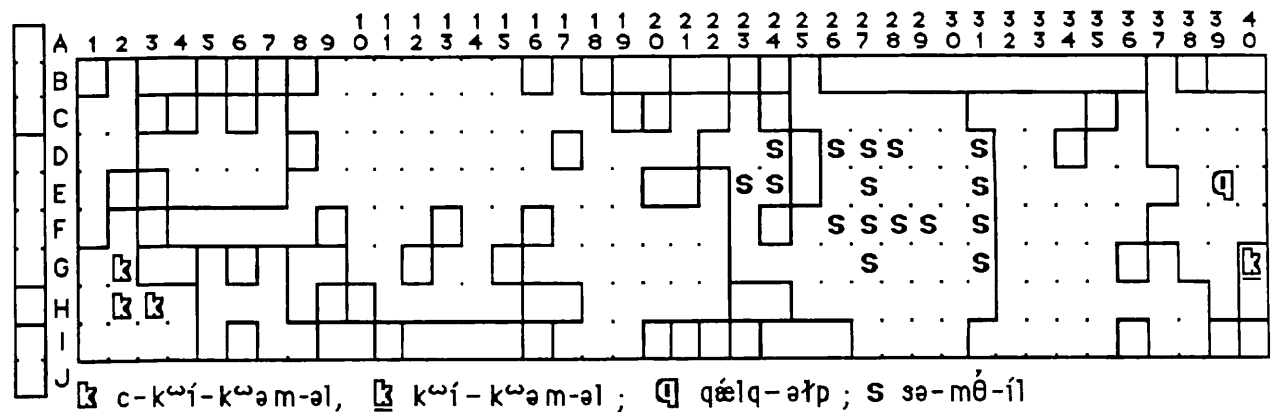


Figure 1d. Bound modifiers; Halkomelem, see Figs. 1a-c, AK.

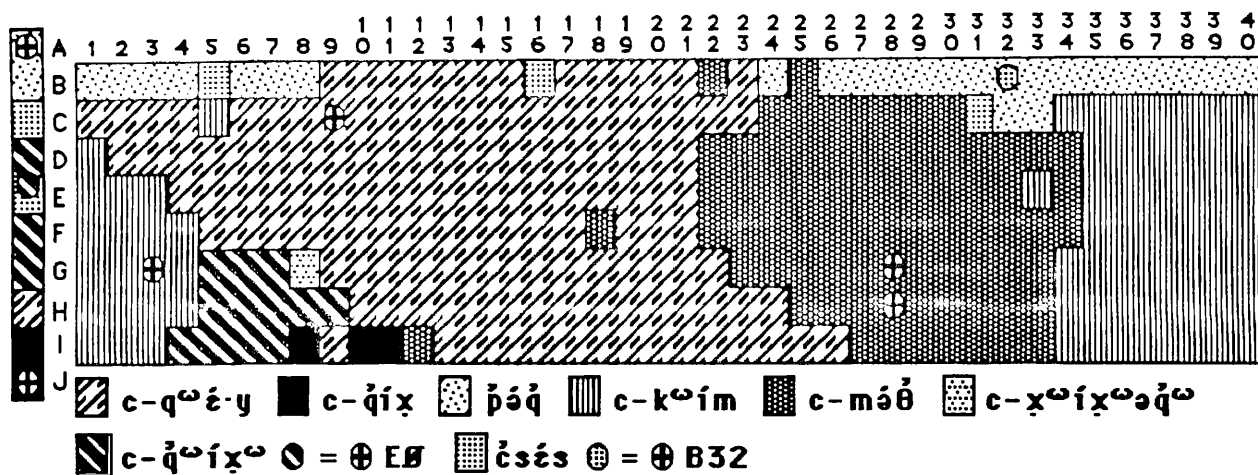


Figure 2a. Halkomelem color-term roots, Tait dialect, speaker TG, age 60±, 1987.

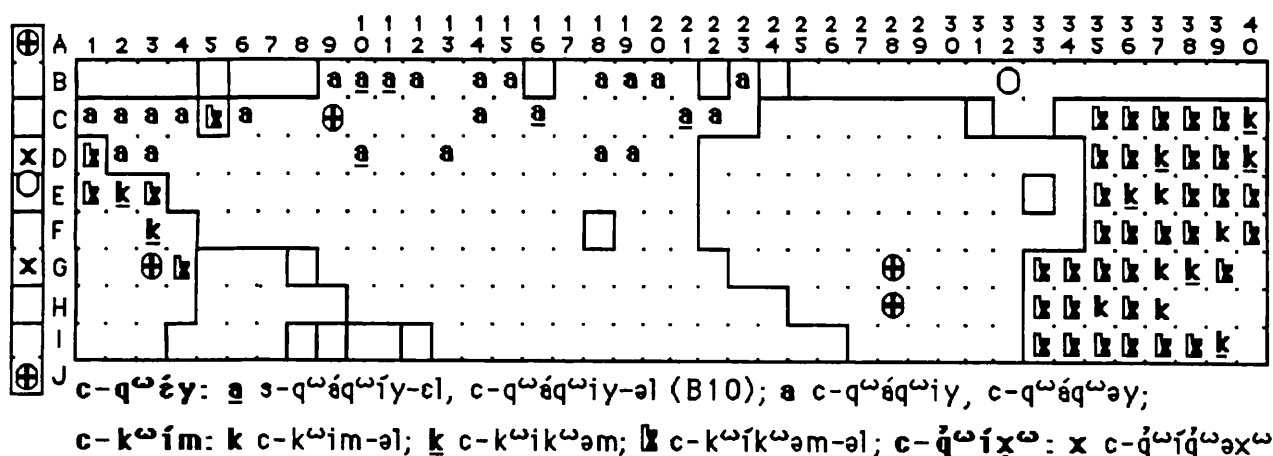


Figure 2b. Bound color-modifiers; Halkomelem, Tait dialect, TG as in Figs. 2a,c.

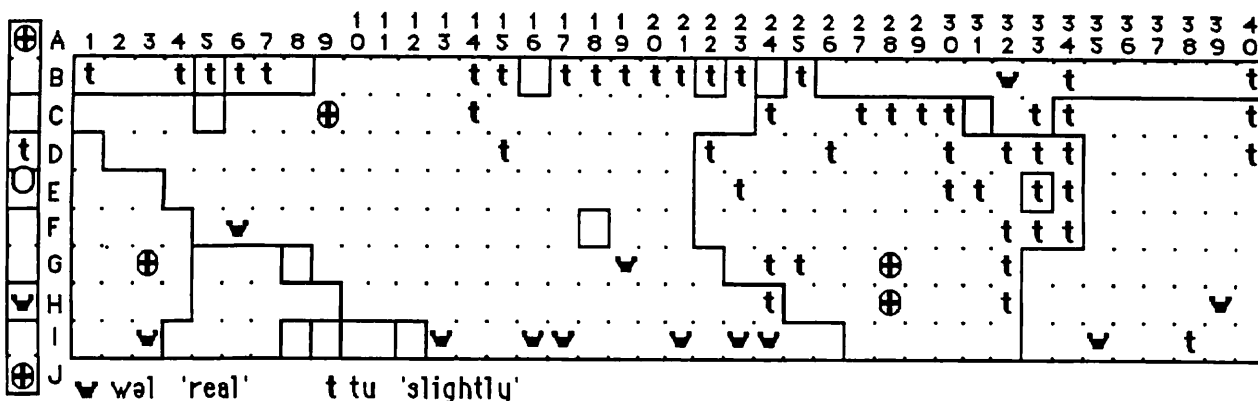


Figure 2c. Unbound preposed color-modifiers; Halkomelem, TG.

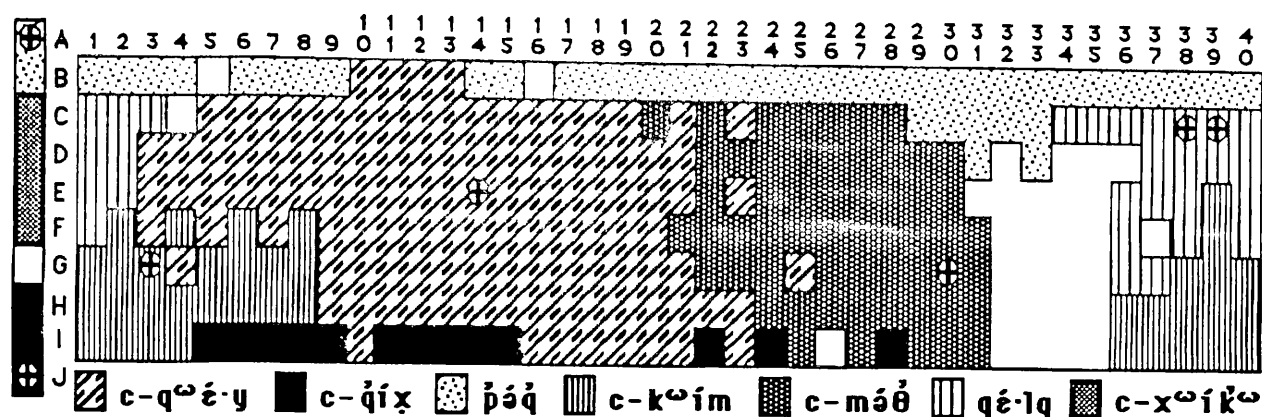
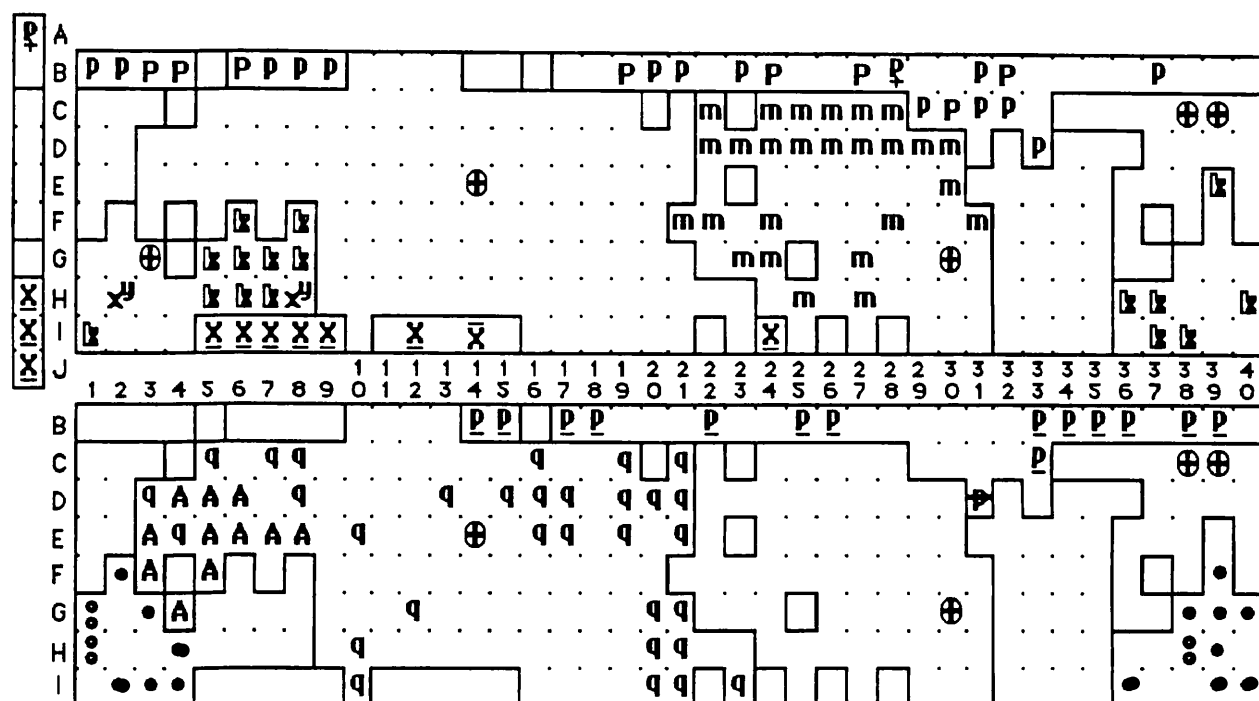


Figure 3a. Halkomelem color-term roots, Chehalis dialect, speaker EB, age 73, 1987.



q'á-y: q c-q'wí-q'wáy-el, c-q'wí-q'wáy-el, c-q'wí-q'wáy-el; A q'wí-q'wáy-élis, q'wá-q'wáy-élis;
 c-k'wím: x c-k'wíq'wám-el; x c-k'wím-amax; • k'wí-m; • k'wí-m;
 p'á-q': p p'í-p'á-q'; p p'á-q'á-el; p p'í-p'á-q'á-el; p p'á-q'á-el; p c-p'í-p'á-q'á-el;
 c-máθ: m c-mí-máθ; c-q'í-x: x q'í-q'á-x; x c-q'í-q'á-x

Figure 3b. Bound color-modifiers; Halkomelem, Chehalis dialect, EB as in Fig. 3a.

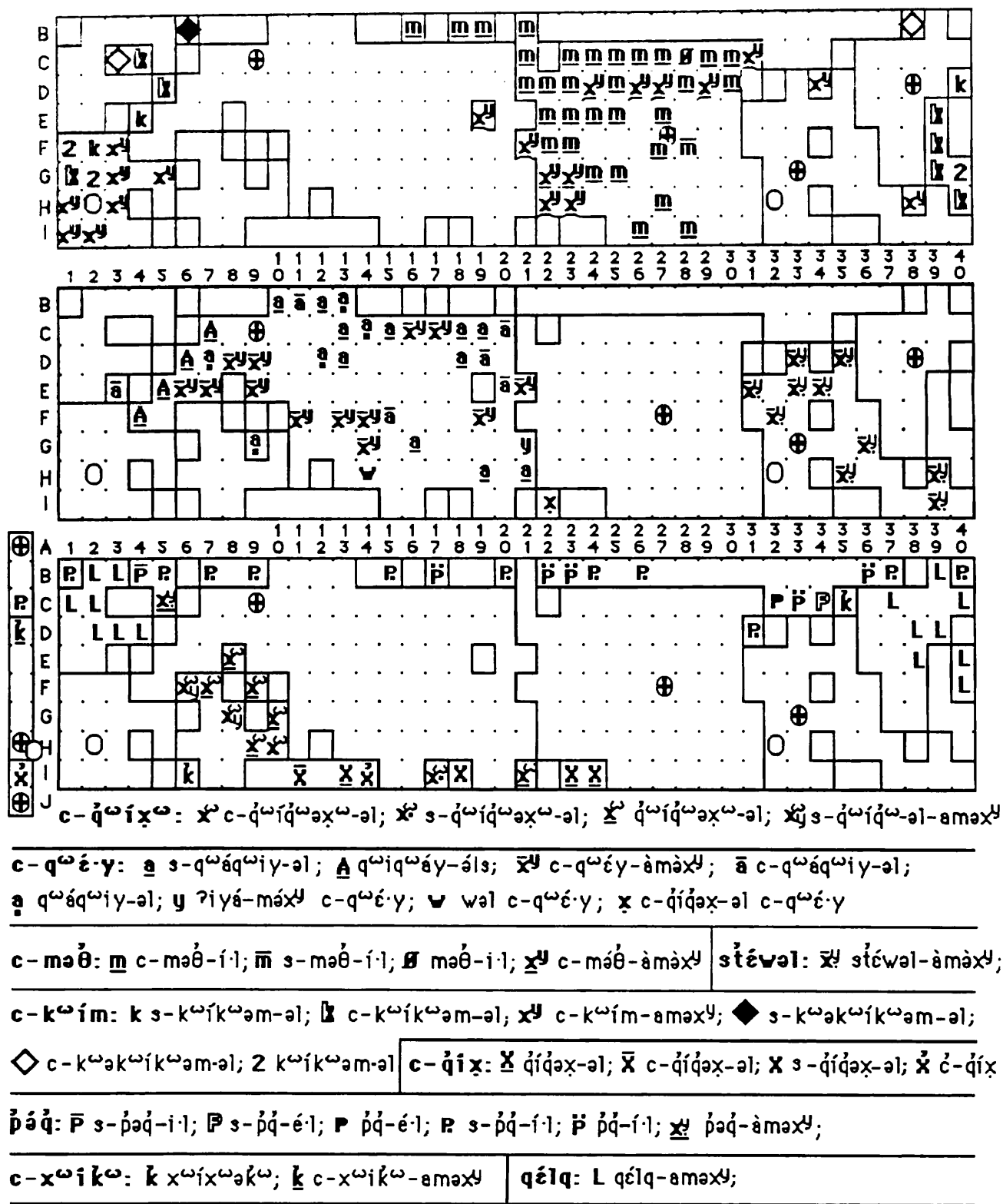
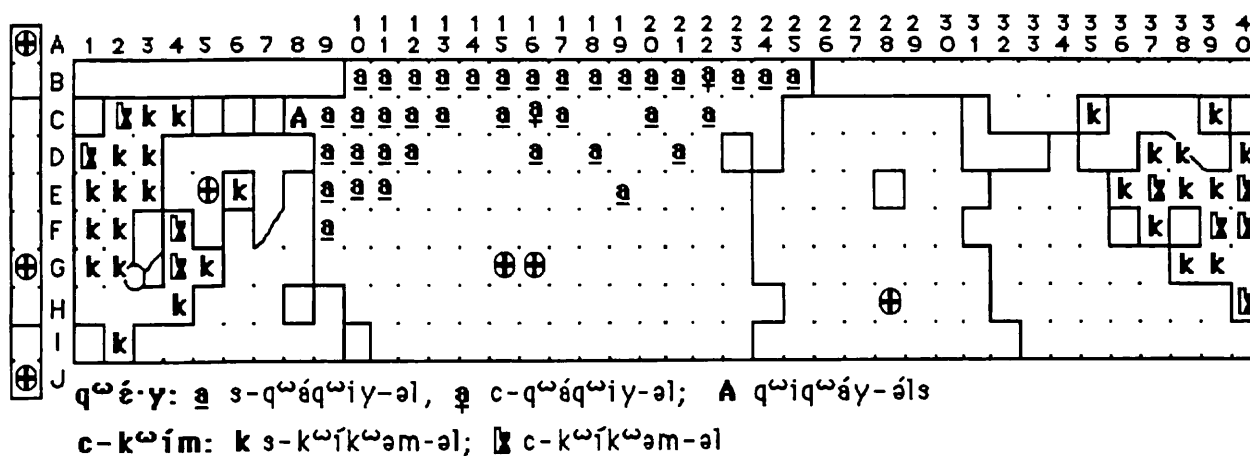
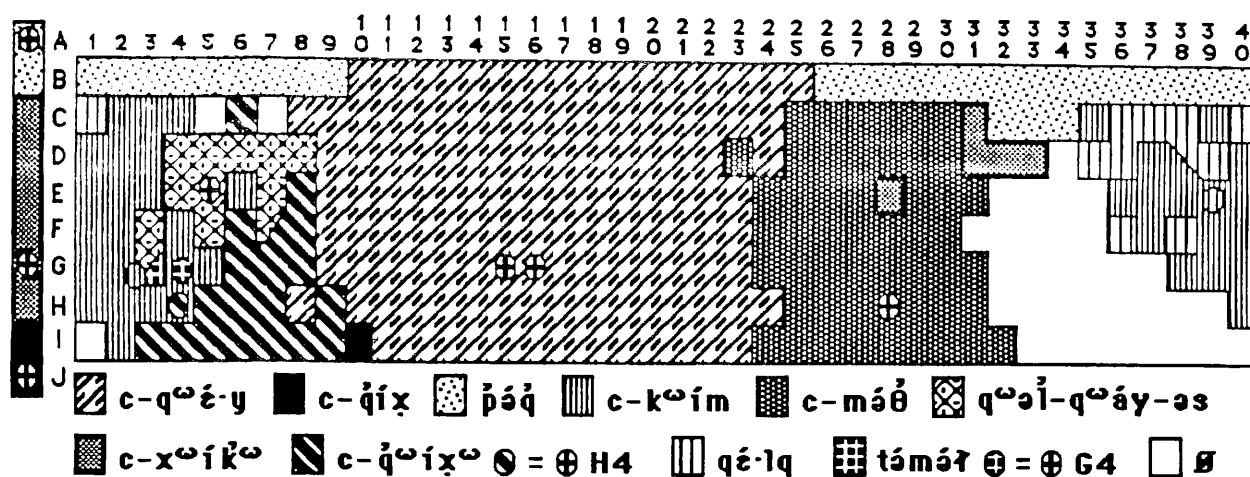


Figure 4b. Color modifiers; Halkomelem, Chilliwack dialect, NP as in Fig. 4a.



form to denote 'bright yellow' (cf. Figure Ød).

A closer look at Tait speaker AK's system of binomial color terms shows that the color terms which modify always precede the color term being modified. The second term (being modified) is the plain color term, usually with /c-/ as its only affixed modifier; only one more-modified term occurs there too, /səmθil/ //s-hə-məθ-fl// (with s- 'stative', hə- 'continuative', and inceptive -fl 'come, go, get, become'). The preceding terms used include all the terms expressing the more general light or dark colors (cx^wik^w 'gray', cq^wix 'black', cq^wix^w 'brown', sxi^wxesəl 'dark (of old clothes, complexions)', and pəq 'white') and their derivatives. These terms when preceding other color terms were often independently translated in those contexts as 'light' or 'dark'. A few other terms were given preceding other color terms but only preceding one example in each case, and so appear to be exceptions.

The following combinations were given by AK:

cx^wik^w (ck^wim, scále, cq^wéy, qélq, səmθil, cməθ)
 (once glossed 'light' before cq^wéy)
 cx^wix^wək^w (qélq, cq^wéy, cməθ)
 x^wix^wək^w (cq^wéy, cq^wé·y, cməθ, q^wi^wq^wáyéls)
 sx^wix^wək^w cq^wéy
 cx^wix^wək^wəl (cməθ, cq^wix^w "like dark brown")
 x^wix^wək^wəl (scále, qélq, cq^wéy)
 cq^wix (cməθ, ck^wim, cq^wéy)
 q^wi^wq^wáyéls cq^wéy
 cq^wix^w (cq^wéy "dark yellow", q^wi^wq^wáyéls, cməθ, ck^wim, scále)
 once by itself translated "brown"
 cq^wi^wq^wəx^wəl (qélq "dark dark ...", cməθ, cq^wéy, q^wi^wq^wáyéls)
 q^wi^wq^wəx^wəl (qélq once "dark rose", cməθ, cq^wéy, ck^wim)
 sq^wəq^wəx^wəl cməθ
 cq^wéy scále
 sq^wəq^wi^wyəl scále
 sxi^wxesəl (qélq, ck^wim, cməθ, cq^wéy, ck^wim "really dark ...",
 cq^wix^w, q^wi^wq^wáyéls, scále)
 xi^wxesəl (cq^wéy once "two times cq^wéy")
 sxi^wxes(əl) cq^wéy
 stəwók^w (pəq)
 səmθil cq^wéy
 scále cq^wéy
 pəq stəwók^w
 sp(ə)qil (cq^wéy, cməθ, cx^wik^w)
 spqil - spəqil (cq^wéy, qélq, cməθ)
 k^wik^wəməl qélq
 sk^wik^wəməl qélq.

The Chilliwack speaker, NP, also used one of these binomial expressions, /c-q^wi^wq^wəx-əl c-q^wé·y/, following the same patterns.

Of the preposed adverbs used by TG (Fig. 2c) /wəl/ 'real' is used to distinguish very dark shades, except for /pəq/ where it points out

the focus; /tu/ 'slightly, a little' is used to distinguish lighter shades and shades between colors other than black or white. Both adverbs are also used with non-color term adjectives and adverbs. NP, the Chilliwack speaker (fig. 4a), also uses /wəl/ once, with /cq^wé.y/, and she too uses it for a dark shade of the color.

The affixed qualifiers include: 1. /c-/ 'have, get', 2. /s-/ 'stative', 3. //-R¹-// or /-C₁ə-/ (infix after V¹) 'continuative' (the same infix can also mean 'resultative' but apparently does not with color terms--none of the terms so modified are focal, have achieved the result of the color change, i.e., the focus or the central areas of the least modified term), //-R¹-// often follows 4. //-Aá-// (á-ablaut on preceding ε) which here doesn't seem to add any meaning (-AáR¹- often functions as a single 'continuative' inflection for verbs with root /é/), 5. inceptive /-əl - -il/ 'come, go, become, get' often meaning 'turn (become)' or '-ish' with colors, 6. //R⁴-// or /C₁í-/ 'diminutive' (all verbs which are diminutivized are also semantically continuative), 6. //R⁷-// or /C₁é-/ 'comparative or emphatic, (sometimes) continuative', 7. /-áməx/ 'in looks, -looking, in appearance, in color', 8. //R⁵-// or /C₁ə-/ 'diminutive'. A grammar of Upriver Halkomelem (Galloway 1977) describes these affixes and types of reduplication in detail.

Infixes can be shown enclosed in square brackets within a word. Metathesis of several types can also occur as a derivational process (-M²- exchanges the vowel it follows with the preceding vowel). -M²- only has a general 'derivational' meaning with the one color term that uses it, //R⁴-q^wéy=á[-M²-]ls// /q^wiq^wáyéls/ 'orange', literally "little yellow/green fruit", used for both the color and the fruit. Since /-áls/ means 'fruit, spherical objects, rocks' it seems clear that the name for the fruit preceded the color.

These affixed qualifiers have several functions in specifying the nuances of color in Upriver Halkomelem. Except for /páq/ 'white', color term roots cannot occur without either a prefix or a suffix. Some have both and infixes and ablaut as well. The simplest affixed forms have /c-/ added to the root alone. These specify the unequivocal areas of each color term, usually including the foci. It turns out that /c-/, used with further derived color terms, particularly inceptives, may contrast with /s-/ and with unprefixated forms in very subtle ways. More about these later.

Fig. 2b (Tait speaker TG) shows the additional effect of infixed reduplication, -R¹- 'continuative' on /c-/ plus root (/c-q^wá[-q^wə-]y, c-k^wí[-k^w-]əm, c-q^wí[-q^wə-]x^w/). The other speakers do not use this strategy (though NP uses /x^wí[-x^wə-]k^w/ and /s-pí[-pə-]q^w-əl/ and /pípəx^w-əl, s-pípəx^w-əl/, and AH uses /s-XíXəs/; these may be 'continuatives' but do not have /c-/). The literal meaning is something like "having/getting/being in a state of [yellow, red, brown]". The clearest idea of its function without other affixes can be seen in the black/gray/white column to the left of the row letters in Fig. 2b, where GØ shows it can be a darker shade

and DØ shows that preceded by /tu/ it can be a lighter shade of gray (TG also uses this root for brown; the other speakers use the root for brown and label the gray in column Ø with forms from /x^wik^w/.) In the same chart, **a** in squares without t in Fig. 2c (for ex. C1-4, C6, B9, B12, C22, D2, D3, D13, D18-19) show that the form can label shades lighter, darker, more pink, or more blue than the focus at C9 (i.e., above, below, left, or right of the focus). The forms often are used in conjunction with /tu/ 'slightly' to cover the very lightest shades, at the margin of white.

Also on Fig. 2b, /c-k^wim-əl/ shows the effect of the addition of /-əl - i(·)l/ 'inceptive, go, come, get, become, turn, -ish'. This suffix is very widespread among non-color verbs and can be used with color roots without any other affixes. Such forms are extremely rare as labels for colors however, perhaps because they imply a rapid change of color. In our data, inceptives are almost always combined with continuative reduplication, and /c-/ or /s-/. This in effect slows down the action of change so it can be modified and analyzed. This is line with the syntactic functioning of color terms as well, since they are adjectival verbs. They can precede nominals (much as adjectives do in English) but they can also serve as full intransitive predicates, inflected for subject, tense, aspect, etc. Both inceptive forms with and without continuative occur in Fig. 2b (/c-k^wim-əl, c-k^wi[-k^wə-]m-əl/). Here /c-k^wim-əl/ is further from the focus of /c-k^wim/ than /c-k^wi[-k^wə-]m/ is (**k** is usually closer to the focus at G3 than is **k**). And /c-k^wi[-k^wə-]m-əl/ is usually furthest of all from the focus (literally it means something like "going/coming/getting to have red"). The principal also applies to the derivatives of /c-q^wéy/ in Fig. 2b though not as neatly.

One of the rare cases of inceptive without c-/s- as a color label can be seen in Fig. 4b (Chilliwack speaker NP), with /məθ-i·l/. It only occurs once, among the lightest shades of blue, perhaps caught at the very first inception of change towards blue from white. The more usual form in the chart for such shades is /c-məθ-i·l/ or for other speakers the continuative /səməθ-i·l/ //s-hə-məθ-i(·)l//. The latter form shows another type of Halkomelem 'continuative', the /hə- - hē-/ prefix, which occurs before a subset of verb roots beginning in resonants (with this set the continuative infix cannot be used). /h/ is lost after another consonant by normal phonological rule. Another case of inceptive as a color label without c- or s- is that of /pípəx^w-əl/ at F8, F10, G6--contrasting with the modified form /s-pípəx^w-əl/ at I5. Clearly the /s-/ provides a meaningful semantic addition and the /s-/ form seems to indicate a deeper type of brown than the tans represented by the unprefix form. But since we don't have an attestation of the root without reduplication and inceptive, we cannot be sure whether the lighter or darker shade is closer to the focus of the root.

In Fig. 3b (Chehalis speaker EB) we see the 'diminutive' modifier, R⁴-, alone with one root and alone except for /c-/ with another. Thus

the forms /pí-pəq/ //C₁f-pəq// and /c-mí-məθ/ //C₁f-məθ//. Here with /cmí-məθ/ the diminutive indicates all the lighter shades of blue but also most of the greenish and lavender margins within blue as well. This extensive coverage is either cause or effect of the fact that the speaker uses no other modifiers with this root--no inceptive, continuative, etc. None of the other Upriver elders we interviewed used diminutives with R⁴- as a modifier strategy except with /q^wi-q^wáy-éls/ 'orange' (there it is combined with metathesis and a lexical suffix). In Fig. 3b, /pí-pəq/ and /pé-pəq-əl/ occur almost alternately within the same areas (as shades of white tinged with orange, yellow or blue) and cannot really be distinguished in effect. The second form has R⁷- 'comparative or emphatic, (sometimes) continuative' which was not attested in color term words by any of the others we interviewed.

Inceptive forms also occur with diminutives (or vice versa) in Fig. 3b, /c-q^wi-q^wáy-əl, pí-pəq-əl, c-pí-pəq-əl/. The first of these, literally "have/get/be in a state of going a little yellow/green", has vowel reduction to schwa by regular phonological rule following a stressed prefix. This term labels almost all the margins of /c-q^wéy/ (from green's margins with blue, to yellow's margins with orange and pink and white). It also includes some moderately light green close to the focus of /c-q^wé.y/, which, for EB of Chehalis, is green (as it is for AH of Sumas). /pí-pəq-əl/ is commonest for shades of white tinged with green or pink; /c-pí-pəq-əl/ occurs only once (perhaps since nowhere else does the root /pəq/ allow the prefix /c-/), as white tinged with lavender or light lavender. Patterns of modifiers of /pəq/ are difficult to sort out since for our speakers they all occur on one line (line B), with a small dip into row C between columns 31 and 34 (above lavender or mauve).

One other diminutive is attested, using R⁵- or C₁ə-. This occurs only in Fig. 4b (Chilliwack speaker NP) and only in forms also inflected with -R¹-. Thus /s-k^wə-k^wi[-k^wə-]m-əl/ and /c-k^wə-k^wi[-k^wə-]m-əl/ are the very very lightest reds (actually more whites tinged with pinks, but not named as varieties of /pəq/ or /qélq/).

Emphatic lengthening of a root vowel is a meaningful process in Upriver Halkomelem. It can add one mora, two morae, or even more morae, expressing increasingly more emphasis. It is present in Fig. 3b in : /c-k^wi:m/, and possibly in • /c-k^wi.m/. As such it marks especially characteristic shades and, perhaps occasionally, surprise at a newly-glimpsed shade. It is probably not present in variation between /cq^wéy/ and /cq^wé.y/ because that seems to be variation between speaker preferences; a given speaker seems to stick to one or the other.

Also in Fig. 3b are several lexical suffixes, besides /-áls/ 'fruit' in the term for 'orange'. /-élqəl/ 'wool' is part of /pəq-élqəl/ 'mountain goat', a nominal derived from the root 'white'. The term is not really a color term. Another lexical suffix is more widespread and is a legitimate modifier of color terms,

/-áméxʸ/ 'in looks, -looking, in appearance, in color'. It appears in non-color terms like, /ʔiy-áméxʸ/ 'good-looking' and /səlcím-əmèxʸ/ 'what color is it?, what does it look like?' (an interrogative verb). Fig. 4b (of Chilliwack speaker NP) shows even more extensive use of the suffix, i.e. with more stems than just /kʷím/, with /s-qʷí[-qʷə-]xʷ-əl-amèxʸ, c-qʷéy-ámèxʸ, c-méθ-ámèxʸ, stéwəl-ámèxʸ, c-kʷím-amèxʸ, pəq-áméxʸ, c-xʷíkʷ-ámèxʸ, qélq-amèxʸ/. The only color terms it was not attested with are /c-qíx/ and /c-píqʷ/. In Fig. 4b it is shown with varieties of xʸ, x_y, k, and L. In all cases it occurs both in the central areas of the color term (or modified color term) it is attached to, as well as in the marginal and/or questionable areas of the stem. So it is clear that the affix merely indicates a little hedging or very very slight uncertainty.

Fig. 4b also shows the only attestation of the color term /stéwəl/ which is approximately 'purple, lavender'. This speaker, NP of Chilliwack, uses the greatest variety of modifiers of any of the speakers, including color terms as modifiers (x on the chart) like Tait speaker AK, adverbs as modifiers (w) like Tait speaker TG (Fig. 2c), diminutives (see diamond symbols on the chart), as well as /-áméxʸ/ for hedging, and inceptives, continuatives, and three-way minimal contrasts between forms without prefix and those with /c-/ and /s-/.

/c-/ or /s-/ seems to be used with all the affixed qualified color terms by TG (Tait, Fig. 2b). A similar pattern is shown for EB (Chehalis) in Fig. 3b, except for one root and one stem that we know do not require /c-/: /pəq/ 'white' and /qʷíqʷáyéls/ 'orange'. But for EB there are two cases of minimal contrast, forms with /c-/ vs. without (/pí-pəq-əl/ with diminutive R⁴- vs. /c-pí-pəq-əl/, and /qí[-qə-]x-əl/ with continuative -R¹- vs. /c-qí[-qə-]x-əl/). The /c-/ forms may be a little more intense, deeper in the color, than the forms without. This would fit with the literal meanings for each set ("going a little white" vs. "have/get/be in a state of going a little white", "going a little black" vs. "have/get/be in a state of going a little black"; or if one uses the -ish meaning, "a little whitish" vs. "have/get/be in a state of a little whitish", etc.).

In Fig. 4b (Chilliwack speaker NP), there are quite a few such contrasts, in fact with inceptives based on all the roots but /xʷíkʷ/ 'gray', /qélq/ 'rose', and /stéwəl/ 'purple'. Morphosyntactically we'd expect the forms without /c-/ or /s-/ to be more verbal and the colors to be more in the process of changing (not having reached a state yet). It is hard to tell whether this is the case for the darkest roots, under /c-qíx/ 'black' and /c-qʷíxʷ/ 'brown'. And all the inceptives and inceptive continuatives here cover shades on the margins of the basic color terms. But comparing ā and a with a, for example, under /c-qʷéy/ 'yellow/green' it seems that the latter (without c-) has less intensity (less of the color) than the former (with c-). The same can be said perhaps of the minimal contrast under /c-méθ/

'blue' with Ø (without c-) being less intense than m or m̄. The minimal contrasts under /c-k^wim/ 'red' show all three terms (with c-, with s-, and without either) to be equally close to the focus and nearly indistinguishable in intensity; if anything the form without c- or s- is more intense than those with the prefix. With the forms under /p^əq/ 'white', the forms label colors almost identical in intensity and seem to alternate at random on the margins of 'white'. As with other speakers, the forms without /s-/ or /c-/ are used rarely in comparison to the prefixed forms.

Looking at the contrast between the above forms differing only by having stative /s-/ or having /c-/ 'have, get', there may be a further subtle contrast. In Fig. 5b (Sumas speaker AH) there are only prefixed modified forms, no unprefixed contrasts. She has minimal contrasts between forms with /s-/ and with /c-/. There are only two examples of /c-q^wáq^wiy-əl/, at some distance from each other, but they are surrounded on all sides by examples of /s-q^wáq^wiy-əl/; they do not seem semantically distinct. However there are a number of colors labelled by /c-k^wik^wem-əl/ and a number by /s-k^wik^wem-əl/. They are fairly evenly mixed with each other, though the forms with /c-/ are found mostly close to the focus, while the /s-/ forms occur close to the focus but also as the farthest away from the focus (C4, E6, I2, C35, etc.).

In Fig. 4b (Chilliwack speaker NP), the contrasts show:

	/c-/ forms	/s-/ forms
under /c-q ^w ix ^w /:	more focal	more distant from focus, blackest
under /c-q ^w é.y/:	at intense margins	at light margins or blackest
under /c-méθ/:	at light margins, some dark	one ex. next to focus
under /c-k ^w im/:	at intense margins	at light margins or near focus
under /c-k ^w im/ + R ⁵ -:	more focal	more distant from focus
under /c-q ^í x/:	one ex., browner	one ex., bluer, darker?
under /p ^ə q/:	no ex.	closer to /p ^ə q/ than non-statives

and in Fig. 4c:

under /s-p ^í q ^w /:	at I35, H34, D32	at F34 but focused at H32,
	darker or lighter	and /s-p ^í [-p ^ə -]q ^w -əl/ at I36

("Intense margins" refers to margins between colors other than white or black.)

In Fig. 3b Chehalis speaker EB has no /s-/ forms to contrast. In Fig. 2b Tait speaker TG has one contrast, /c-q^wáq^wiy-əl/ (one ex.) vs. /s-q^wáq^wiy-əl/. The /c-/ form is more focal than most of the /s-/ forms, but with only one example it does not do more than marginally support previous patterns.

Mappings. A mapping (elicited as described in Table 1, 3.) of any term need not cover all of the colors that the term can name; some individuals exclude colors from a mapping after applying the term to those colors during chip-naming (Table 1, 1.). Yet, when the mappings of separate terms cover the same colors, the mappings show a relation between categories; usually one category is included within the range of the other.

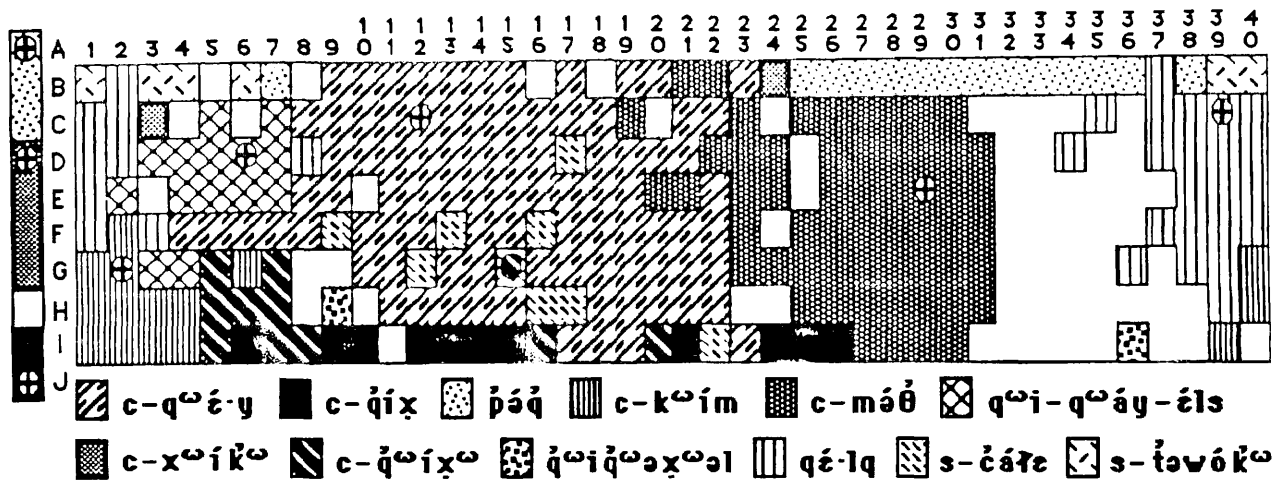


Figure 1a. Halkomelem color-term roots, Tait dialect, speaker AK, age 66, 1987.

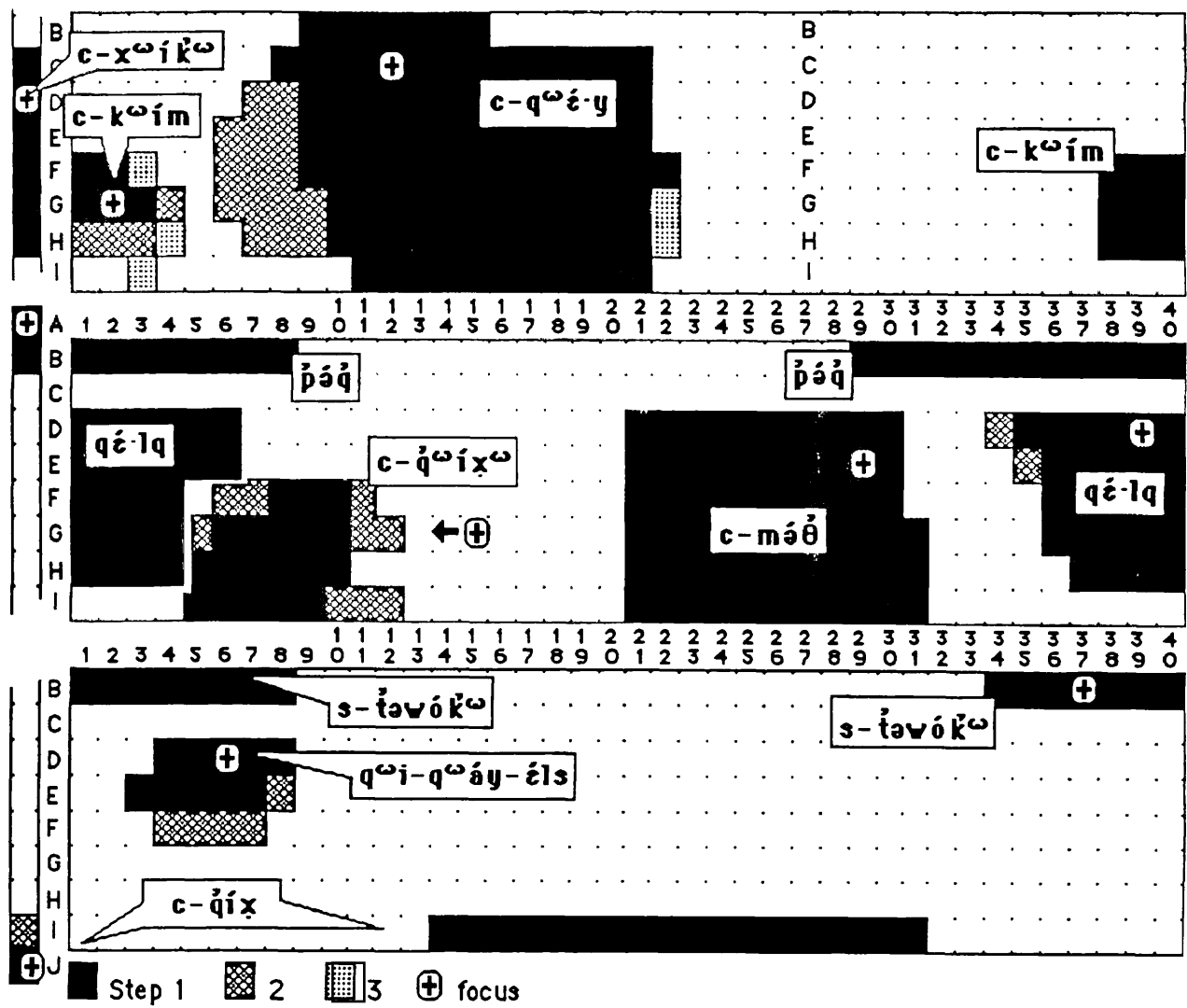


Figure 1e. Mappings of color-term roots, Halkomelem, AK as in Figs. 1a-d.

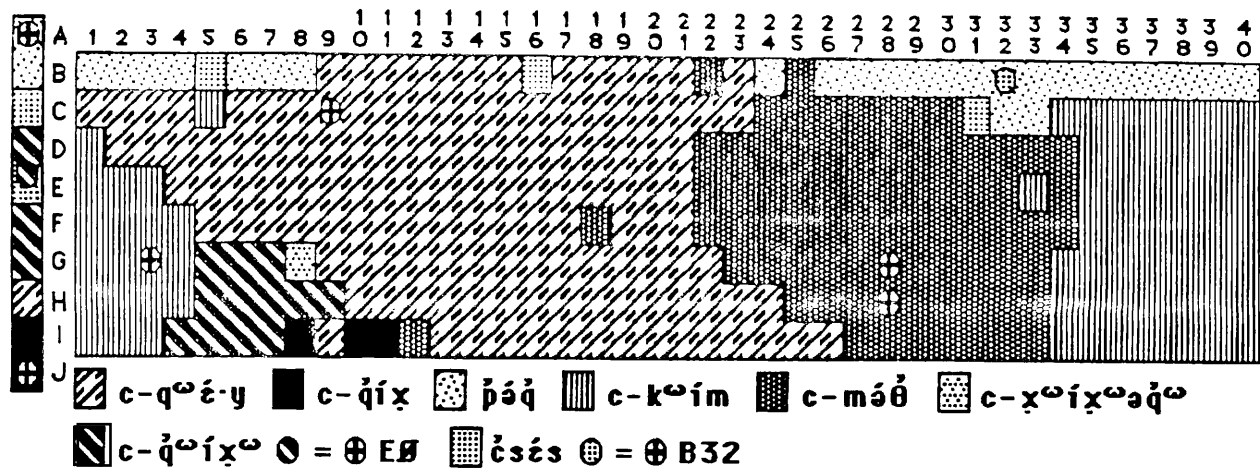


Figure 2a. Halkomelem color-term roots, Tait dialect, speaker TG, age 60±, 1987.

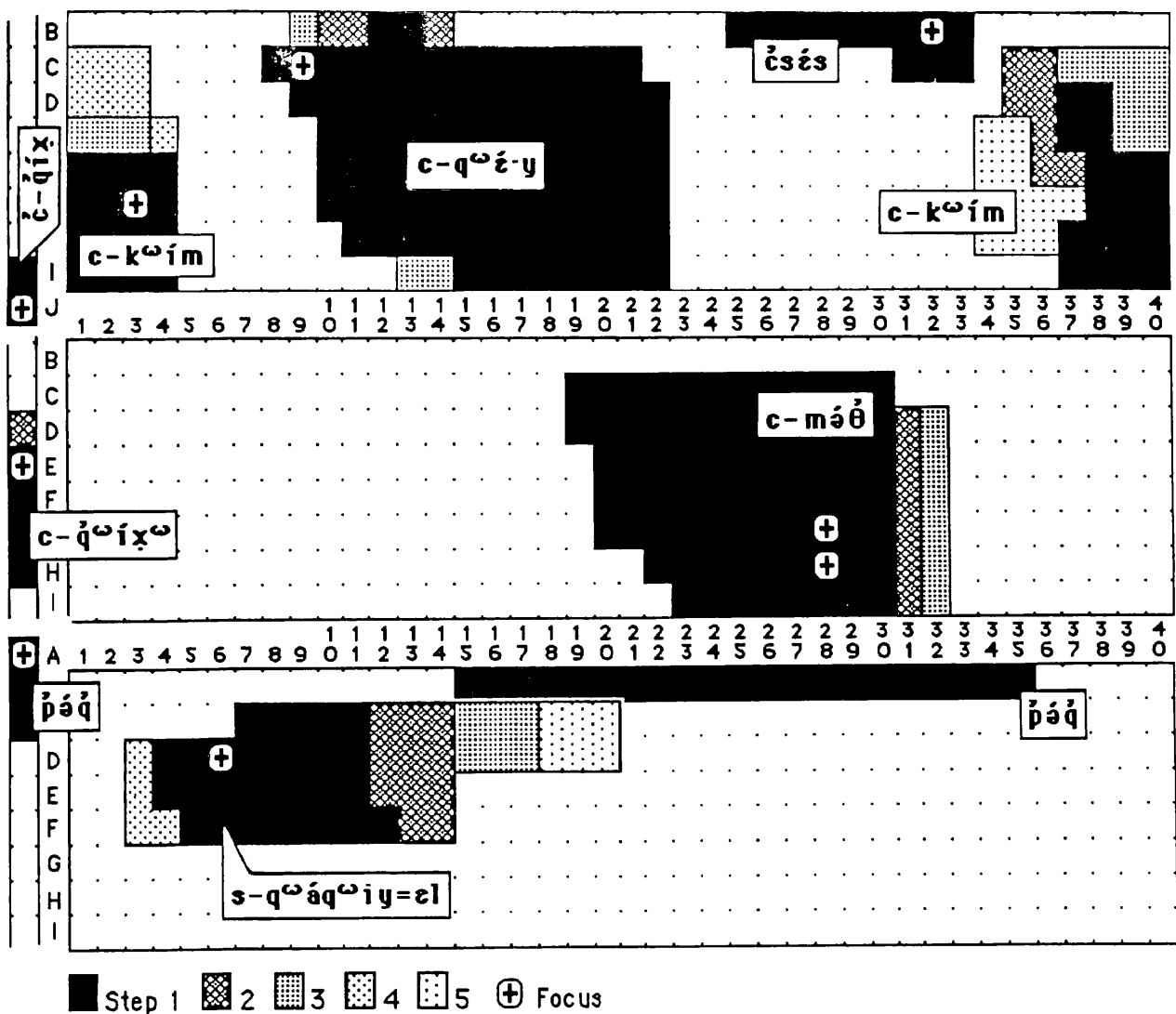


Figure 2d. Mappings of color-term roots; Halkomelem, TG as in Figs. 2a-c.

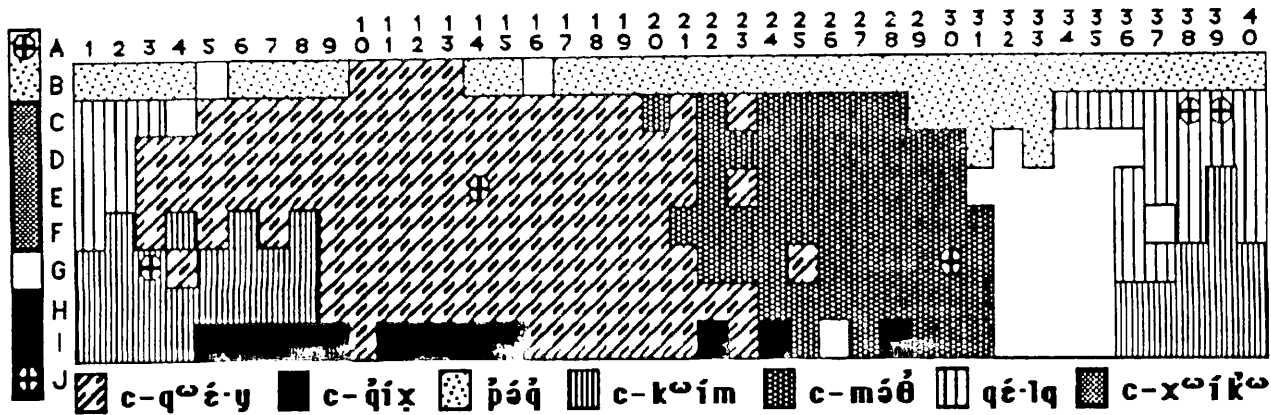


Figure 3a. Halkomelem color-term roots, Chehalis dialect, speaker EB, age 73, 1987.

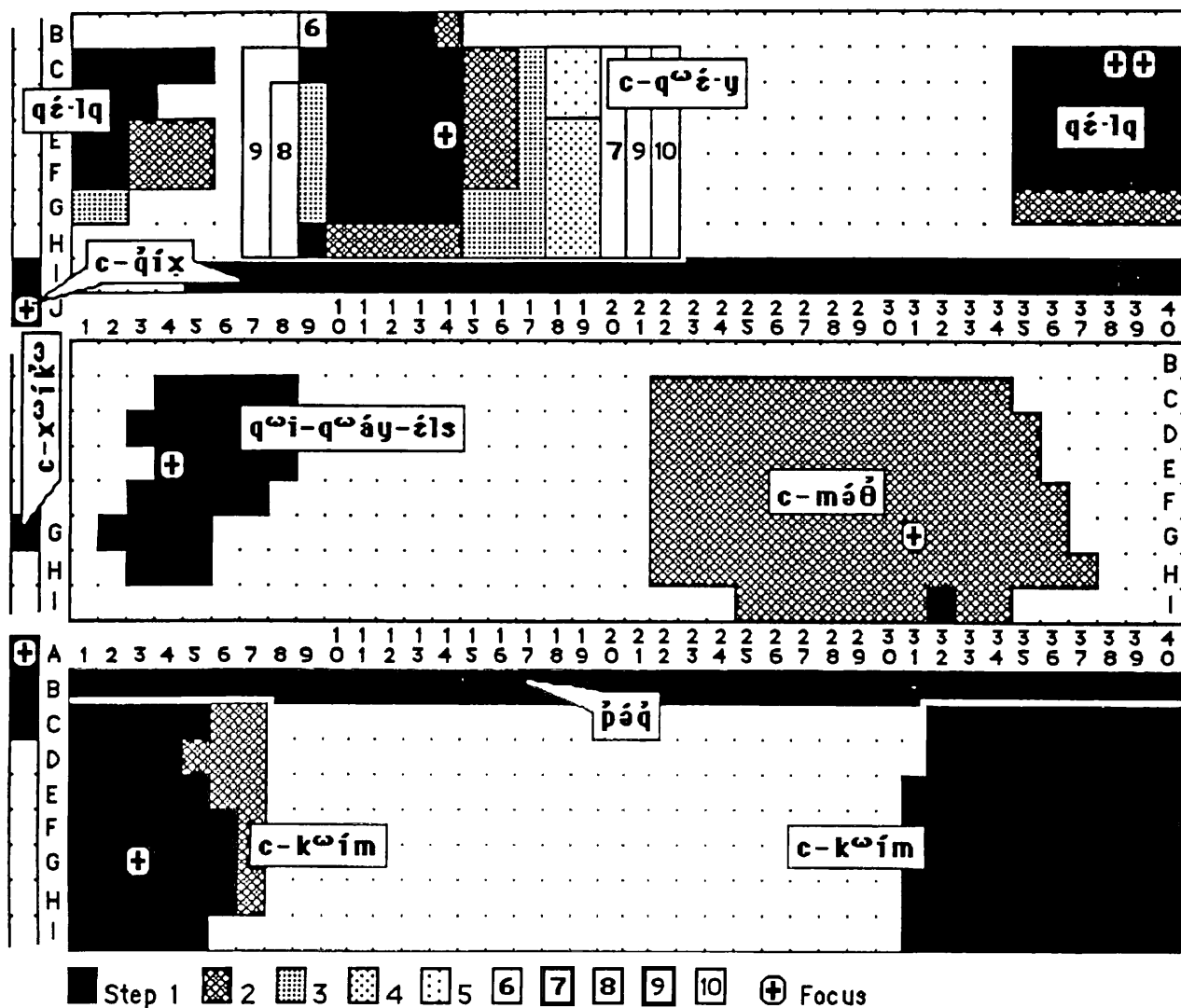
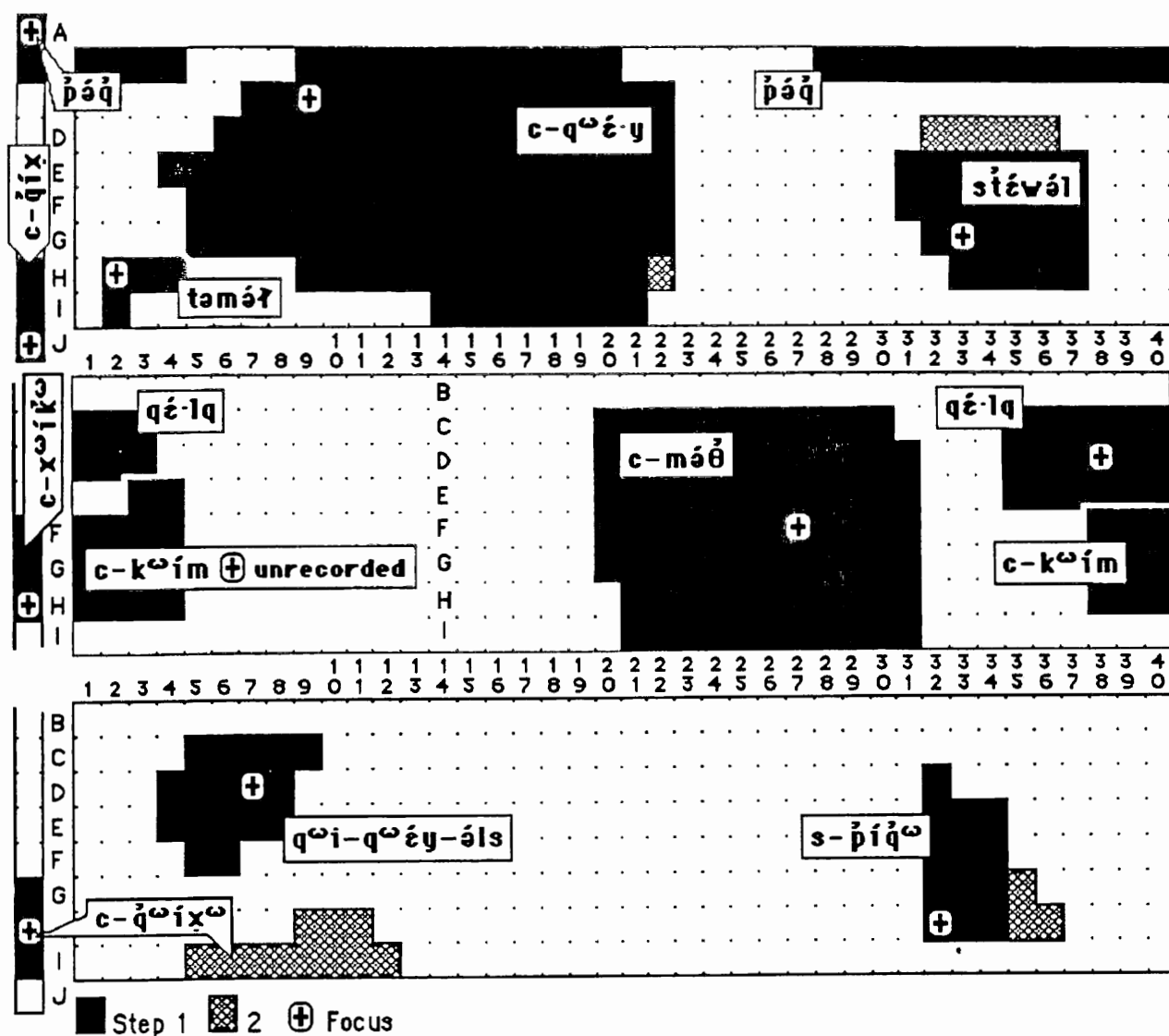
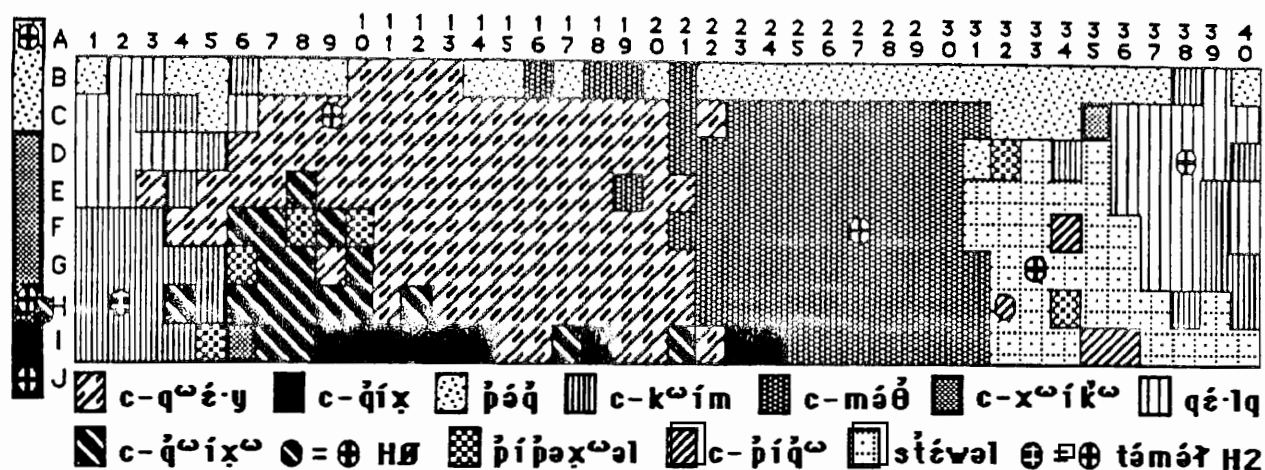


Figure 3c. Color-term Mappings; Halkomelem, EB as in Figs. 3a-b.



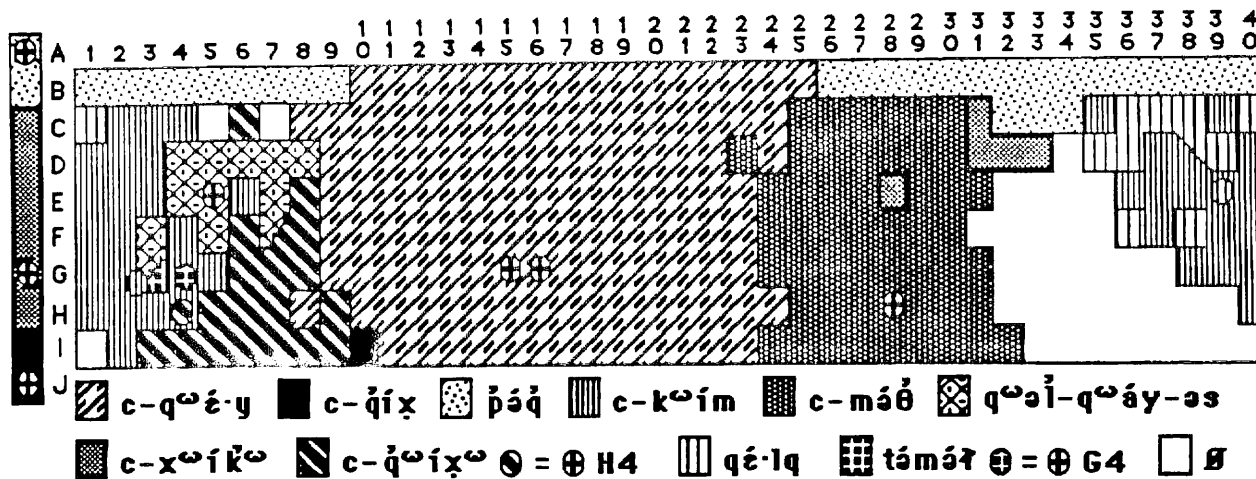


Figure 5. Halkomelem color-term roots, Sumas dialect, speaker AH, age 80, 1987.

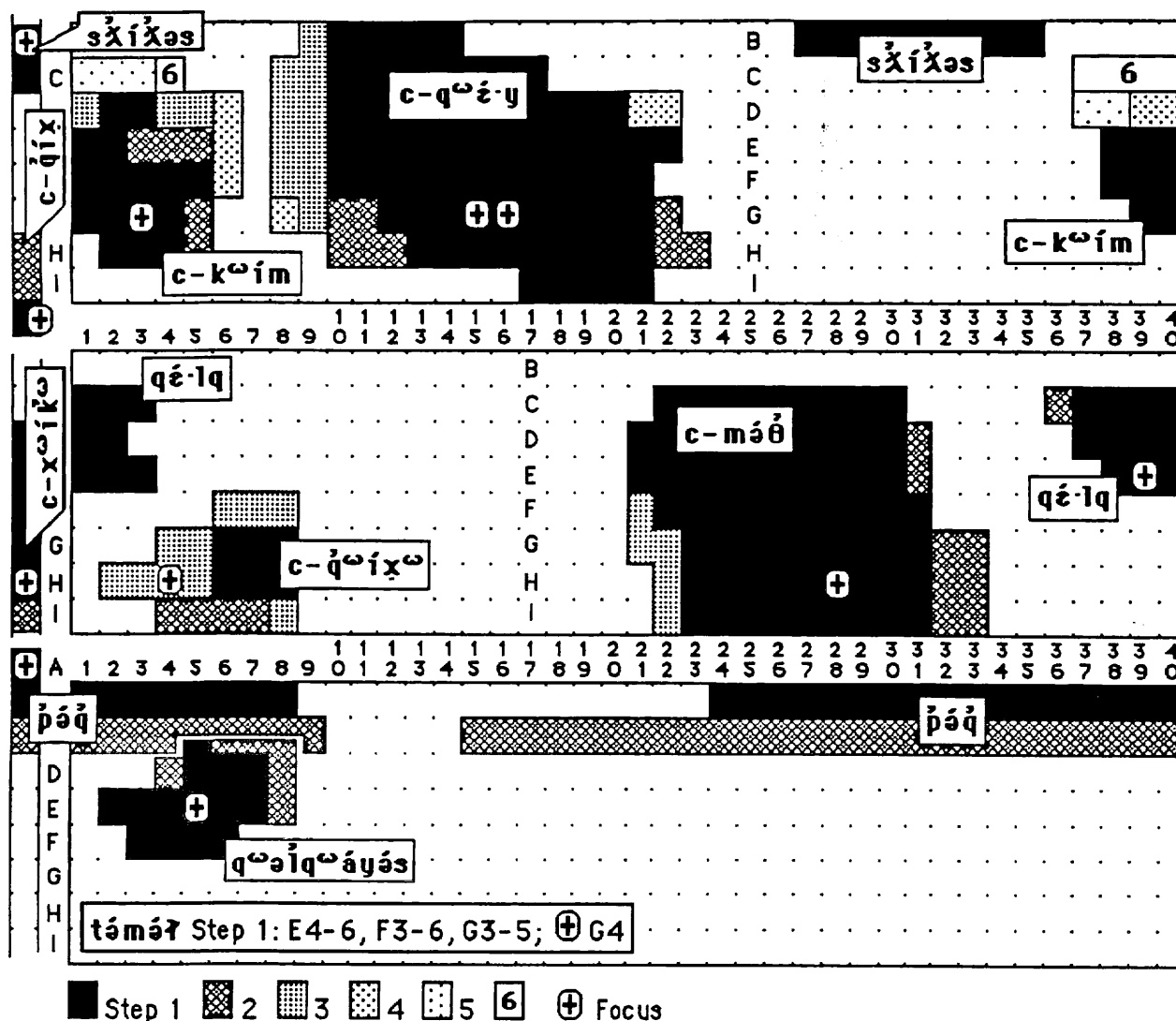


Figure 5c. Color-term mappings; Halkomelem, AH as in Figs. 5a-b.

In Figure 1b, mappings are as would be expected from the naming ranges of Figure 1a. However, the 'pink' term focused at D39 is mapped over the range of the 'red' term, focused at G2, even though the latter is older. The tendency of 'pink' to extend throughout 'red' is widely recurrent in the world's languages (MacLaury MS).

In Figure 2d, the mapping of yellow-with-green, focused at C9, is curtailed at row 8; Figure 2a shows a naming range that is broader than the mapping. Separate mapping of a qualified form--that focused at D6 and represented as a in Figure 2b--extends the mapping of the yellow-with-green category.

Figure 3c shows a relation among mappings similar to that seen in Figure 2d; the unmodified root of the yellow-with-green category is mapped short of its naming range (Figure 3a) and an orange-focused (E4) qualification of the root is mapped on colors left uncovered during mapping of the root alone. Interpretation is further complicated by inclusion of the orange-focused mapping within the mapping of the red-focused (G3) category. The complication results from overlap in orange of the red-focused and the yellow-with-green category. The orange-focused term (A) names part of the yellow-with-green category, as shown by the distribution of color modifiers in Figure 3b; the term names members of yellow-with-green when the colors are thought of as such, even though the red-focused category extends over the same colors.

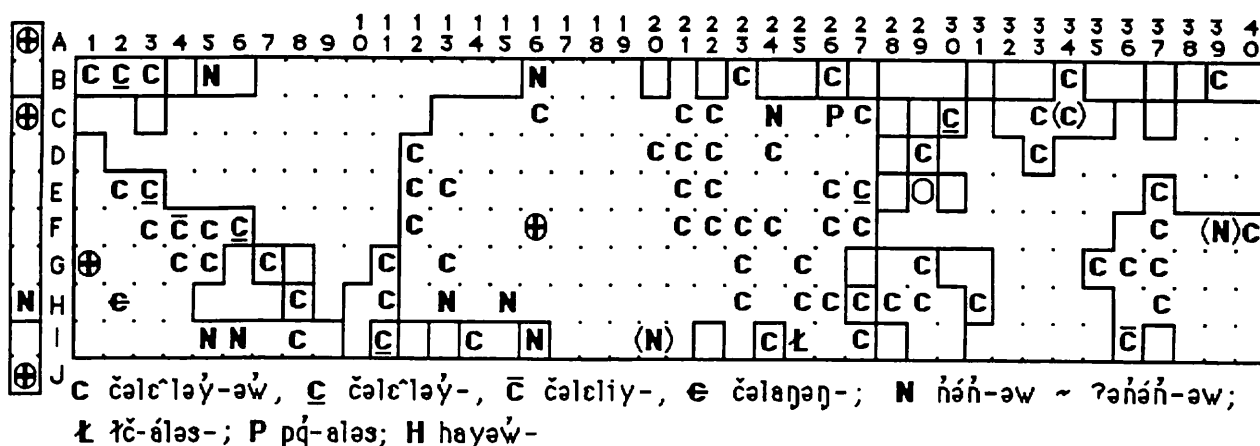
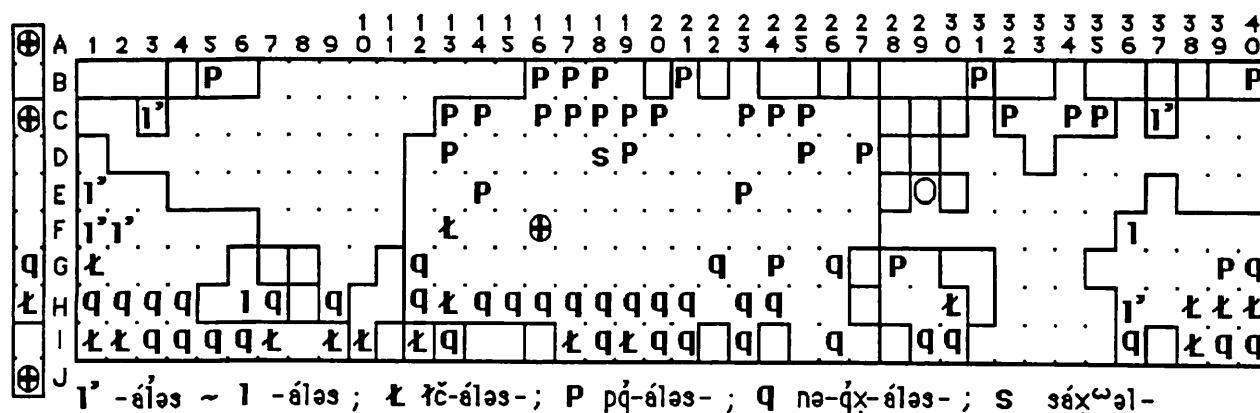
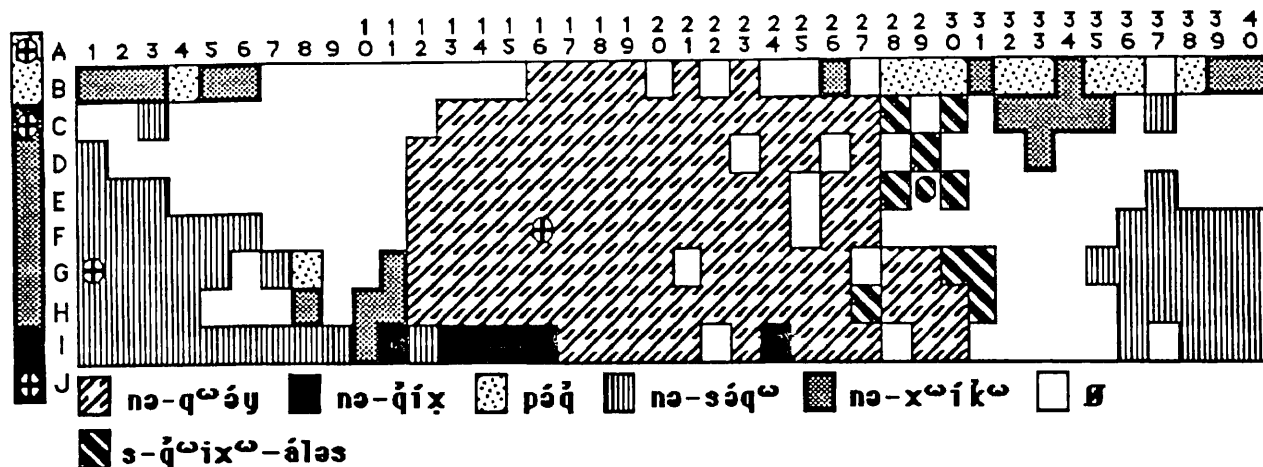
Figure 4c shows an unequivocal relation of inclusion between the yellow-with-green mapping (focus C9) and the qualified name of orange (focus D7). Two 'purple' terms, G33 and H32, are focused and mapped such as to show slightly different meanings.

Figure 5c shows inclusion of the 'pink' mapping (E39) by the 'red' mapping (G3), the opposite relation of that seen in Figure 1b. The orange-focused term (E5) appears to name an autonomous category, consistent with its naming range in Figure 5a. Although the red-focused mapping covers the 'orange' focus at E5, row 7 shows an area covered only by the orange-focused category. The mapping of a specialized term for bright red, /támə́l/, focused at G4 and named once at G3 (Figure 5a), is described by letter and number in Figure 5c.

Note also that Tait speaker TG uses /čsés/ 'ashes' (Fig. 2d) to map the same color that Sumas speaker AH maps with /s-xíxəs/ (Fig. 5c), and others (Chilliwack speaker NP and Tait speaker AK) map largely with /pəq/. /s-xíxəs/ then probably could be glossed 'dingy white, off-white' with inceptive form /s-xíxəs-əl/ elsewhere translated 'dark (old clothes, complexion)'.

SAMISH

The Samish speaker, LD (Figs. 7a, 7b) is truly monolingual. Galloway had to conduct the color test in Samish, and so he had a field session first with both the last two fluent speakers, to elicit the types of questions he needed to ask and possible responses he would need to recognize. Then in another session, he worked alone with



LD to do the test. The other speaker was kept apart as he worked productively with Eloise Jelinek on syntactic elicitation.

This year Galloway hopes to try the color test with the other fluent speaker of Samish; unlike LD, he is not monolingual and speaks English and the Saanich dialect of Northern Straits, also fluently. If he turns up a term for yellow or purple, in either dialect, Galloway may redo the test with LD to fill in the colors not named on the first pass through the chips (Galloway did not realize then that subsequent passes to name all the chips were allowed).

In Figure 7a, the Samish speaker names color with roots that are cognate with Halkomelem, except the 'red' term focused at G1. The green-focused term F16 names a green-with-blue category, although it is cognate with Halkomelem 'yellow-with-green.' This datum further reinforces the hypothesis of an original 'green-with-blue' meaning, as suggested in the preceding section. The Samish speaker could recall no word for yellow colors, a condition that would precede extension of the 'green-with-blue' term to 'yellow-with-green'. (A few older speakers of Upriver Halkomelem (AC, some others, interviewed by Galloway some years before) could not remember a distinct term for yellow and spent some time commenting and struggling with that, just as others do now over terms for brown and purple; on the other hand a few Upriver Halkomelem speakers also interviewed some years ago could not pin down a word for green.)

A Samish term, focused at E29, is emerging as a term for 'blue'; it is cognate with the Halkomelem term for 'brown' or 'grey-brown', seen in Figures 1a, 2a, 4a, and 5a. An emergent term in blue would satisfy a second prerequisite for transference of a 'green-with-blue' term to 'yellow-with-green.' As in the Halkomelem data, the Samish data yield no clue of the original 'yellow' term. It is virtually impossible that yellow was always unnamed in either Halkomelem or Samish; 'yellow' might have been named by the red-focused term. Like four of the Halkomelem speakers, the Samish speaker did not name purple.

The modifiers LD used (Fig. 7b) include one suffix (/ -áləs - -áləs/ 'on the eyes, around the eye, color, in color, looks like, -ish'), some preposed adverbs (/čəléləy - čəléləy/ 'nearly', /čəléləy-əw - čəléləy-əw/ 'real near' [with -əw - -əw 'contrastive'], /túw/ //t-əw// 'a little' [with -əw], /ʔənʔén-əw - nén-əw/ 'very', and /hayəw/ //hayí-əw// 'quite' [from /hayí/ 'big']), and some preposed adjectives (several themselves modified color terms) (/ʔáy/ 'good', /ič-áləs/ 'dark', /pq-áləs/ 'light', and /nə-qʰ-áləs/ 'blackish').

The color terms attested with the / -áləs/ suffix are /nə-sqʷ-áləs - nə-sqʷ-áləs/, /pq-áləs/, and /nə-qʰ-áləs/. /pq-áləs/ alone only labelled one chip (B4) (a white with a faint orange tint), but it was flanked on both sides by modified forms of /nə-xʷikʷ/ 'gray'. The shades surrounding /péq/ itself (for ex. at B32-33, B28-30) were not labelled with /pq-áləs/ as one might

expect but again with modified forms of /nə-x^wik^w/ or /s-q^wix^w-áles/. So /pqáles/ is more of a modifier than a color term itself. The same is true of /nə-q^x-áles/, which appears only twice as a color term itself, once as /ʔənʔénəw nəq^xáles/ next to I15 plain /nə-qⁱx/, and once /nénəw nəq^xáles/ - /nəq^xáles nəq^wéy/ at I20 surrounded by shades of modified /nəq^wéy/. /nə-sq^w-áles/, on the other hand, occurred only as a color term, never a modifier. It filled in the lighter shades of /nə-séq^w/ (D1, E1, F1, F2, F36) while /pqáles nə-séq^w/ was never used at all.

As modifiers, /nəq^xáles/ and /ičáles/ (root /iéč/ 'dark') cover almost identical turf; they often alternate (particularly with the darkest row (I) of reds and blues. However, since one would expect /nəq^xáles/ to be darker (since its root means 'black') than /ičáles/, it is a relief to find that confirmed by cases of the latter at G1 and H38-40, and at F14, all above the modifier /nəq^xáles/. So /ičáles/ is used as well for slighter less dark shades than is /nəq^xáles/. /pqáles/ is found expressing the lighter shades of all the color terms.

/ʔənʔénəw/ only occurs in trinomials with /pqáles, ičáles, or nəq^xáles/ as second member; it semantically modifies the second member or shading term. It lightens with /pqáles/ and darkens with the two dark shadings. /čələléy - čələléy/ 'nearly' covers the furthest margins (between colors rather margins with white or black), and /čələléyəw - čələléyəw/ 'real near' usually covers shades one step closer to the focus than /čələléy - čələléy/. Glottalization of resonants here and throughout does not seem to be 'continuative' nor 'diminutive' since both 'continuatives' and 'diminutives' are usually marked simultaneously by other morphemes as well, and since there is no pattern of differences between glottalized and non-glottalized modifiers that can be seen on the charts. /hayəw/ occurs at E14 only, directly before /nəq^wéy/ and there marks a shade perhaps characteristic of common shades of vegetation or at any rate, of /nəq^wéy/. One word occurs which is a noun rather than a color term, /sáx^wəl/ 'grass' at D18.

NOOKSACK

LG's mapping (Fig.) for four Nooksack color terms was:
 /k^wəx-k^wik/ E1-E37, F4-5, F3, F2?, F1, F40, F39; red
 /č-q^wéy/ (not /y/) C15?, C14, C13, C12, C11, C10; greenish yellow
 (modifier) /č-q^wá[-q^wə-]y/ B11, B10; light greenish yellow
 (modifier) /q^wéy-q^wéy?-il/ C14-C12, D14-12 (glossed as 'light green').
 These were not mapping steps by her; we pointed to the squares and she said yes or no to adding a rice grain. The other Nooksack color terms from previous field work (a partial list) are not mappable here but include: /k^wéq/ 'white', /qəx-qⁱx/ - /č-qⁱx/ 'black', /pəq^w-pⁱq^w/ 'green' (said to be 'dark blue' in Halkomelem, another entry cites the same form as 'yellow'), /č-pⁱq^w/ 'yellow', /ʔəs-lələč/ 'yellow', /x^wək^w-x^wik^w/ 'grey', /s-k^wik-il/ 'kind of/partially red, pink', and /qⁱx-il/ 'kind of black'. These are besides the four above.

/pəq^w-p'iq^w/ has a root which is cognate with the one which NP of Chilliwack uses for 'purple' in Upriver Halkomelem /c-p'iq^w, s-p'iq^w, s-p'[-pə-]q'-əl/.

The modifiers show prefixed /č-/ and 'stative' /s-/, suffixed /-il/ 'inceptive', and infix /-C₁ə-/ 'diminutive', the last two cognate with affixes in Upriver Halkomelem and Lushootseed. It also raises the possibility that the Upriver Halkomelem form could be considered as 'diminutive' in some cases (though most cases are still clearly 'continuative' and /hə-/ is only 'continuative', never 'diminutive').

The prefixed reduplication, C₁əC₂-, is 'completive/dispositional', apparently aspectual (Galloway 1984b ["Nooksack Reduplication"]:86). Besides the color term words it appears in words such as /q^wəc-q^wic/ 'drowned' (< /q^wic/ 'drift downstream'), /q^wəl-?-q^wəl?/ 'overcooked', /ʔəl-ʔəlyə/ 'dreaming', /k^wəl-?-k^wəl-iws/ 'murderer' (cf. Upriver Halkomelem cognate with /k^wə.l/ 'hide' and /-iws/ 'body'), and /qəl-?-qəl?-il?/ 'dirty' (Galloway 1984b:86).

LUSHOOTSEED

In Figure 8a, the Lushootseed speaker named all colors, except 'brown' and 'purple'. A 'yellow-with-green' term, focused in green at F17, extends to pure yellow at C8 and to dark greenish blue at H27. Pure blue is in column 29 (cf. Figure 0d). It is important to note that the Lushootseed 'yellow-with-green' term does not name both pure yellow and pure blue, which would violate all expectations based on current physiological knowledge (MacLaury 1987a). For that reason, it is improbable that the original meaning of 'yellow-with-green' cognates encompassed both pure yellow and pure blue. An original 'green-with-blue' meaning is more likely. The Lushootseed category might be in a process of shift, moving away from blue and toward yellow. Colors in the orange and yellow-orange range are named with the red-focused term (G1-2) and with intermixture of terms meaning 'sun' and 'moon', focused at D5 and C9.

The yellow-with-green category is named with two terms, shown in the upper half of the figure; the second is focused at D14. Both are derived from the same root, although it is undetermined whether they are two words or two qualifications of one. Use of separately focused terms that each name all of one category is known as "semantic coextensivity" (MacLaury 1987b). The two terms for 'yellow-with-green' are definitely modifications of the same root. The unvoiced/voiced shift is regular in Lushootseed, and the /x^wi-/ prefix is an allomorph before labialized consonants (before roots /q^wáɬ/, /q^wéq^w/, and [from Hess and Hilbert n.d., vol.2:79] /q^wix^w/ [see below]) of the /xi-/ color term prefix. The prefix has the form /xi-/ before non-labialized consonants.

Thus /(?ə)s-q^wáɬ-il/ is related to /x^wi-q^wác/ (//xi-q^wáɬ//) as /ʔəs-bəɬ-il/ is related to /xi-béɬ/. The relation is cognate with that in Upriver Halkomelem (except for /c-/ instead of /xi-/ and the

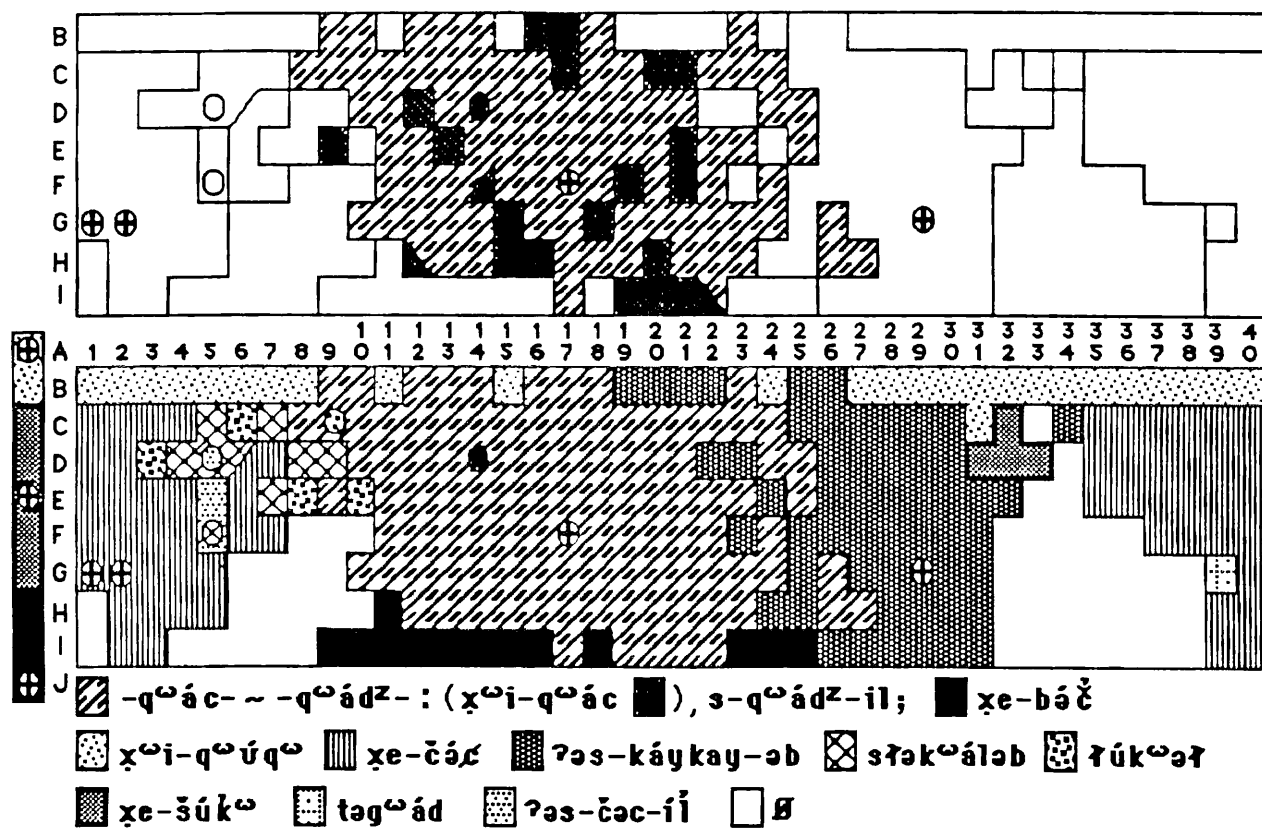


Figure 8a. Lushootseed color-term roots, Skagit dialect, speaker LG, age 94, 1987.

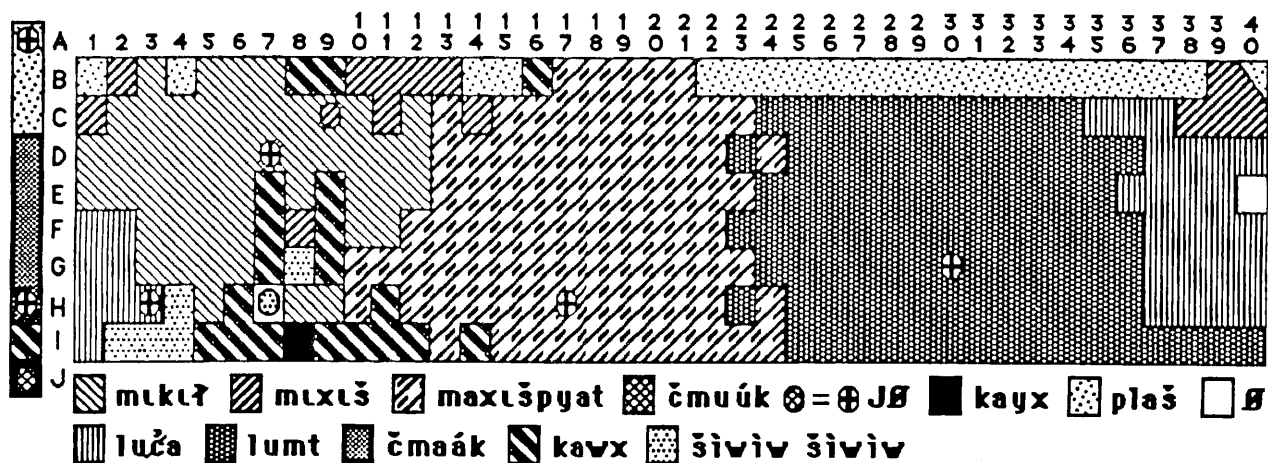


Figure 9. Yakima Color-term roots, Toppenish; woman, age 60, 1987.

added Halkomelem 'continuatives') between /s-qʷá[-qʷə-]y-əl/ and /c-qʷéy/ and between /s-(h)ə-məʔ-il/ and /c-məʔ/. The roots and statives and inceptives are all cognate. In fact the Lushootseed term /ʔəs-qʷá[-ʔ-qʷə-]ɬ-il/ may be exactly cognate with Upriver Halkomelem /s-qʷɛ[-Aá-qʷə-]y-əl/. The source of the Halkomelem á-ablaut may be an incomplete sound shift, i.e. Proto-Central Salish *á > Upriver Halkomelem *é except before continuative reduplication. Unstressed Proto-Central Salish *i usually > Upriver Halkomelem /ə/ (thus the Upriver allomorphy of -ɬl - -əl). And PCS *y > Lushootseed /ɬ/, Halkomelem /y/ (originally this was only before vowels from PCS but it has spread elsewhere).

Hess does not suggest a meaning for /xɪ- - xʷɪ-/ in his 1976 dictionary nor do Hess and Hilbert in Lushootseed, An Introduction (n.d. but ca 1983, two vols.), but it seems similar in functions to those of Halkomelem /c-/, Nooksack /č/, and Samish /nə-/ with color terms.

Figure 8b displays the Lushootseed color-qualifier system, among the most complex of the present collection of data. Bound qualifiers are represented by letters, unbound qualifiers by shapes listed at bottom of the key. The system features productive combination of reduplication ('diminutive'), prefixing (for 'stative', 'progressive', and a color term prefix), suffixing (for 'inceptive'), infixing of glottal stop and possibly glottalization of resonants (in the root for blue and in the inceptive suffix). Qualifying affixes are added to a root to designate increasing degrees of lightness and marginality within a category. The most complex qualification characterizes the most marginal designation.

There are two 'diminutive' reduplicative variants: C₁f- with roots /čác, qʷáqʷ, báč/, as in /xɪ-čɪ-čc, ʔəs-čɪ-čc-il, ʔəs-čɪ-ʔ-čc-il, lə-čɪ-čc-il; xʷɪ-qʷɪ-qʷqʷ, ʔəs-qʷɪ-qʷqʷ, ʔəs-qʷɪ-qʷqʷ-il; xɪ-bɪ-bč, ʔəs-bɪ-ʔ-bč-il/. -C₁ə- after V₁ with roots /qʷáɬ, káykayəb/, as in /xʷɪ-qʷá[-qʷ(ə)-]c, qʷá[-ʔ-qʷə-]ɬ-il, ʔəs-qʷá[-ʔ-qʷə-]ɬ-il; (ʔ)əs-ká[-kə-]ykayəb, (ʔə)s-ká[-ʔ-kə-]ykayəb, ʔəs-ká[-kə-]ýkayəb, lə-ká[-kə-]ýkayəb/.

The infix -ʔ- according to Vi Hilbert (p.c.) makes the form a little bit more-so (for ex. more 'diminutive' if diminutive). It is unclear whether it can occur as a 'diminutive' without reduplication, for ex. in /xʷɪ-qʷáʔc/ at C21. If it is an intensifier it could even be cognate with Upriver Halkomelem lengthening, since that is an intensifier and since Upriver length in most cases corresponds historically to preconsonantal glottal stop in Downriver and Island dialect groups and other Salishan languages.

What we have recorded as /-il - -il/ inceptive is not recorded glottalized in Hess 1976 or in Hess and Hilbert (n.d.) (for ex., vol.2:79-80 discusses it with color terms). Hess and Hilbert note that inchoative "-il often carries the idea of 'developing, becoming, growing to be'. Thus, a more exact English rendering of /ʔəsč(ə)cil/

is 'coming to be red, reddening'." They also note that the same word is translated as 'reddish, light red'.

The /lə-/ prefix is 'progressive' ('continuative' in Upriver Halkomelem terminology). It is unclear whether the variant /ləʔ-/ is /lə-ʔ-/ , but such a form would make the form 'more progressive', i.e. further away from reaching completion of the focal color. Note again, the verbal perspective of these forms. A literal translation for one such form was given for /lə-ʔ-qʷá[-ʔ-qʷə-]ɬ-iʔ/ 'just barely turning yellow'.

Hess and Hilbert (n.d.:2.79) also discuss two roots for blue. They note that blue-jay /kaʔkaʔ/, is used in /ʔaskaʔkaʔ/ 'blue-jay (color)' to refer to 'azure, sky blue'. They also give a color term word which we did not obtain in our session, /xʷi-qʷíxʷ/ 'dark blue, navy blue, very dark green'. Hess obtained this term from LG (our speaker) and other speakers as well (Hess 1976). This partition of blue is very important to note in the evolution of Central Salish yellow-with-green. It is cognate with the term used for 'brown' in Upriver Halkomelem and the emergent 'blue' on the margin of 'purple' in Samish.

One further Lushootseed color term, which LG recalled the day after we did the test (and so is not mapped), is /xi-čí-čc-álus/ 'brown' (which she had been trying to recall during most of the previous session). It is based on the root for 'red' but has diminutive reduplication, prefix /xi-/, and suffix /-álus/ (not attested in other color term words here but meaning 'eye, color' as in Hess 1976:690 where he gives /ʔəs-čúlayʔ-álus/ 'leaf-color', /ʔəs-ʔəxid-álus/ 'What color is it?', /ʔáj-álus/ 'bright (color)', and /qʷátqʷat-álus/ 'tears', etc.).

A few preposed adverbial modifiers occur too: /láʔab/ 'real' (Hess 1976 /láʔb/ 'really, very') and /xəl ti/ 'like a, like the'. A few independent nouns were also used in one or two places, /súkʷáləb/ 'moon', /lúkʷəl/ 'sun', /təgʷád/ 'salmonberry', and /ʔáləčəs/ 'orange(s)'.

YAKIMA

In Figure 9a, related terms--focused at C9 in yellow and H17 in green--suggest a former yellow-with-green category. A second dominant 'yellow' term is focused at D7 in orange. Meanings of Yakima terms can be discerned by comparisons of Figure 9a with Figure 0d.

SUMMARY

The foregoing describes and compares systems of color categorization and color naming from nine individuals. Discussion addresses the meaning of terms that most dialects use to name yellow-with-green, with the suggestion that the original meaning was 'green-with-blue'. The original 'yellow' term cannot be inferred from these data. However a term surviving in the Chilliwack speaker's repertoire as

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'purple' was reported by an older Nooksack speaker before his death to mean 'dark blue' in Chilliwick Halkomelem, and the same root is cognate with the root for 'green' in that speaker's Nooksack. This leaves open the possibility that that term might have meant 'green-with-blue' in Chilliwick, and that /c-q^wéy/ might have been 'yellow' gradually extending into 'green' as /c-píq^w/ lost ground and retreated from 'green-with-blue' to 'dark blue' to 'purple'.

Attention is also paid to a widely shared form that names orange, either as an autonomous lexeme by some individuals or as a qualified root by others. Description of color qualifiers shows that these gain complexity as they designate colors that are increasingly marginal or light and marginal within a category. Chilliwick Halkomelem leads the tradition in complexity, exhibiting productive and contrastive semantic use of several reduplications, several aspectual prefixes, infixes, and suffixes (stative, continuative, and inceptive, resp.), preposed adverbial words, a three-way contrast between c-prefixed, s-prefixed and unprefixed forms, a hedging suffix (approximative), and a full set of eleven roots. Lushootseed is next in complexity. The qualifiers also are notable for variation between individuals.

Most of the Upriver Halkomelem qualifiers are cognate with those used in Lushootseed, Nooksack, and Samish. And they modify the terms in similar ways semantically in all four languages. These cognates include what can probably be reconstructed for Proto-Central Salish as inceptive */-il/ 'come, go, get, become', stative */ʔes- ~ s-/ 'stative, be in a state of', diminutive or intensive insertion of glottal stop, diminutive reduplication (*C₁f- ~ *C₁ə- the latter after root V₁). But various color term prefixes are not cognate except Upriver Halkomelem /c-/ with Nooksack /ǵ-/ (Samish /nə-/ and Lushootseed /xí- ~ x^wi-/ [the labialized allomorph before labialized consonants only]). (Upriver Halkomelem /c-/ may be a color term stative but probably is the same as the /c-/ prefix 'have, get' found in other verbs /c-cé·x^w/ [ǵǵǵ·x^w] 'get a wife' < /cé·x^w/ 'wife'.) Other modifiers include preposed adverbial or adjectival words, and use is also made of words for objects with characteristic color as marginal color terms.

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